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TENDENCIES IN RECENT GERMAN SOCIOLOGY: * by Professor Franz Oppenheimer. III.

THE contrast between the absolute and the objective values which Hegel emphasised can receive in psychology a better foundation and a deeper one than the metaphysician was able to supply. So far as I am aware, I was the first to call attention to the fact that there are two markedly different kinds of needs. A need is always the feeling or anticipation of the feeling of a disturbance in the balance of substance or energy of the organism. Such a disturbance can consist either of a superfluity or an insufficiency. Psychology heretofore has always considered only the insufficiencies out of which spring the desires for restoration of the balance by the acquisition of new energy. I call that the negative need. But quite as important are those disturbances which take their rise from a surplus of energy and which are therefore connected with the desires to get rid of this surplus. This is the positive need. To illustrate: the attendant of a locomotive places new coal in the firebox in order to meet the negative requirement; he opens the steam escape valve in order to meet the positive requirement. Physiologically speaking, the chief representative of the negative needs is hunger, of the positive needs, sexual desire. Out of the primary negative need were developed all those instincts which serve the self-preservation of the individual, while out of the primary positive need were developed all those instincts which serve the preservation of the species. The first-named in their totality form the realm of the struggle of life against want, and they include all institutions with which men attempt to combat want, the law, the State and positive science which, in the service of the struggle of life, attempts to control the elemental forces. The positive needs, on the other hand, have created the realm of abundance; the overflow gives rise not only to the play of children and the sports of adults, but also to art, to the genuine religious feeling of the mystic who, in fervent

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ecstasy, aspires to dissolve in God, and to philosophy, which endeavours to reconstruct the whole of the natural and of the intellectual worlds. It is apparent that from this point of view the differentiation between the process of civilisation and the movement of culture undertaken by Alfred Weber and furthered by Max Scheler rests upon a sharp logical division. And it is clear, furthermore, that there is a still better basis for our proposed limitation of sociology in its narrowest sense to the civilisational process, or as we put it, to the realm of the negative needs.

A CLOSE approach to this happy and promising differentiation was outlined by Ferdinand Toennies, the honoured Doyen of German sociology and President of the German Sociological Society. He holds the chair of Sociology in the University of Kiel. An early work of his, *GEMEINSCHAFT UND GESELLSCHAFT*, is very generally acknowledged to be a masterpiece. And only lately, as the fruit of long studies, he published his comprehensive *KRITIK DER ÖFFENTLICHEN MEINUNG—CRITIQUE OF POPULAR OPINION*. In brief indication of his position in the stream of thought, it may be said that he also is a descendant of the counter-revolution. He is to be placed, however, less among the true "Romanticists," whose extravagances and inadequate methodology he has known how to avoid, but rather among the followers of the great Peasant Partisan, Justus Möser, with all their scepticism regarding the one-sided city civilisation of the modern capitalistic period, and with all their repudiation of the mechanised and materialised, so-called capitalistic culture. His thoughts obviously were greatly influenced by Schopenhauer, who was similarly antagonistic to the revolution and the "Enlightenment." Schopenhauer's Copernican overturning of philosophy from intellectualism to voluntarism was accepted by Toennies. This orientation necessarily carried him towards socialism, and there are, in fact, some markedly Marxian elements to be noted in his works, elements which encouraged a certain pessimism in regard to the future of humanity. It seems to me not improbable that Spengler, for instance, might have received some incitement to his pessimistic doctrine of the decline of the Occident from Toennies' very widely-read book.

TOENNIES, like myself, conceives of the dualism of modern life as springing from a double psychological root. He differentiates between the "essential will," "which includes all thought," and the "conscious will," "which is contained in thought." The first is nearly identical with Schopenhauer's "will to live," which masters the material with incessant appetite in order to express itself in always higher forms, and which finally enlists thought, the intellect, in its service in order, as Schopenhauer drastically says, "to light itself a lantern." For this reason the intellect remains always the servant,

and even the lackey of the will: a clear statement, this, of social-psychological determinism. This "essential will," according to Toennies, gave rise to the "Community," first as family and kindred, then as neighbourhood and, finally, as civil community: community, in other words, first of blood, then of place and at length of spirit. In the community peace, love and mutual aid prevail. The "conscious will," on the other hand, brought about "Society" as a mechanism designed to serve the purposes of the individual. The community is an organism, society an artefact. The first holds together through consensus, as does every true organism, the latter, on the other hand, through a multiplicity of contracts. On the basis of this fundamental differentiation, Toennies proceeds in a masterly analysis to reveal everywhere the dualism of our modern life. He points out, among other things, the contrast which occupies us here, the contrast between culture and civilisation. The former is communal, the latter associational.

A GREAT many sociological studies in which Toennies' book was used as a basis have been conducted in Germany, particularly in recent years. This is easily understandable, for it furnishes a rallying cry to the mounting repugnance against the purely materialistic-mechanistic unculture of our capitalistic civilisation. This movement has gained notable momentum since the war showed all but the totally blind that a complete about-face is necessary if we are to avoid the precipice and prevent the catch phrase of the decline of western civilisation from becoming reality. Unfortunately, it appears from most of these studies that the significant differentiation of the master was used only as a convenient and high-sounding phrase.

OUR own admiration is more deeply founded and is probably greater than that of the vociferous adherents. But this does not release us from the duty of a critical examination. It is our opinion, then, that Toennies saw the contrast in its proper light and even carried it back correctly to its roots in the human will. But we believe, further, that he did not get quite to the end of the matter, and the cause for this seems to lie in his rather "monistic" consideration of society in the ordinary, all-inclusive significance of the word. His views are not enriched by acceptance of the sociological idea of the State, concerning which we shall shortly speak more fully. It is sufficient to say here that this concept of the State has made it plain to us that we should not direct exclusive attention to the *internal* relations among the members of a society, as practically all sociology does to this very day, but should also very seriously consider the relations *between* the groups. To do so, however, means instant recognition of the fact that the developed group, the horde, tribe, &c., is a thoroughgoing "community" in Toennies' sense. Peace, mutual aid and the natural justice of equality prevail *within* these groups. *Between* them, however,

there is, if not open hostility, then at least a condition of estrangement. The stranger has no rights, no duties are felt toward him, and his goods and his life may be taken if it may be done with impunity. To reduce it to our formula : the relations within the group are occasioned by the instincts of the preservation of the species ; the relations between the groups are occasioned by the instincts of self-preservation. In the former a " we-interest " prevails, whereas in the latter there is only a naked " I-interest." The first is the realm of gladsome sharing, the other that of a dismal struggle against want.

ALL sociology, as we just said, has hitherto attempted to deduce the circumstances of our present society solely from the internal evolution of a primitive society in which equality and freedom prevailed. In a comprehensive historical analysis of relevant doctrines which forms the first chapter of my *SOCIOLOGY OF THE STATE*, I have been able to show that this doctrine is traceable to ancient Greece, where it constituted the common point of departure for the otherwise antagonistic schools of the Stoics and Epicureans. It was then carried over, through the doctrine of " natural rights " into the philosophy of the middle ages and of modern times, transforming itself first into a juristic construction on the basis of which the immense struggles took place between the great historical powers of Popery and Cæsarism, of the central power and the landed nobility and of the crown and the people. Since John Locke it has been raised to the rank of an historical axiom, and used in this way as a basis for the deduction and at the same time the vindication of the capitalistic State. Scientifically this deduction carries, since Adam Smith's day, the name of the " Law of Previous Accumulation." It maintains that the primitive society of free and equal members has witnessed a greater and greater differentiation merely by the influence of the natural differences in human endowments. The clever, industrious, sober and saving ones accumulated wealth, and out of these economic differences in wealth there developed gradually the social and political differences of rank, of the social order and of classes. This theory may certainly be said to be untenable. It can be disproved deductively, although we have not the time to demonstrate this here. The inductive demonstration from the facts of history is sufficient for its refutation. Wherever the origin of a state-society is known to us at all, there we know with full certainty that it originated through the subjection of one people by another and conquering people. It seems appropriate here to consult English history for an example. These Islands probably contained a primitive people of unknown language and race who were conquered by the Celts. The latter were subjected by the Saxons and Danes and these in turn by the Normans. In every case the conquering group set itself up as a nobility over the group which it had subdued. In other words, the social classes were formed everywhere not by slow

differentiation occasioned by economic relations, but by a single stroke of power based on the political relations between barons and serfs, lords and vassals or slaves, those with full rights and those with lesser or no rights.

THE first sociologist who used this idea of the State as the central point of his explanation was Ibn Khaldun, a high official of state who was born in Tunis in 1332, and eventually entered the service of the Mongol Khan, Tamerlane. In Europe, so far as we are aware, the idea first appeared in England, in the writings of Gerard Winstanley, leader of the "True Levellers" of Cromwell's day. These so-called "Diggers," as the first avowed agrarian socialists of Europe, made claim to the untilled fields of England on behalf of the needy people. Later, in the very similar period of political tension caused by the French Revolution, the idea was again made the cardinal point of an examination of the State by the French Count, Saint-Simon. From him and even more from his pupils, the Saint-Simonists, Enfantin and Bazard, the doctrine was taken over into German sociology. There it found an adherent in the conservative socialist Karl Rodbertus-Jagetzow, and, possibly through the mediation of Lorenz von Stein, was taken up by a man who worked it out with all his energy and who made it the central point of his sociological life-work. This man was Ludwig Gumplowicz, quondam Professor of Political Rights in Graz.

LIKE Ibn Khaldun, Gumplowicz seemed to be predestined by the situation of his group to recognise directly the fundamental historical relation which occasioned the State. The learned Mohammedan statesman saw that relation from above as a member of a conquering race of rulers. Gumplowicz saw it from beneath, being in a double sense a member of a subjected and economically exploited group. He was born a Jew in Austrian Poland, and he was a patriotic Pole, even partaking in an uprising in that country. Belonging as a Pole to a subjected people who were despoiled of their own State, and as a Jew to a group which still constitutes a characteristic Pariah group throughout the Slavic East, it was impossible for him to be misled by the "nursery tale," as Marx scornfully called the "Law of Previous Accumulation." Winstanley regarded himself as a defender of the Saxons against the Normans and after the death of the "Usurper" Charles I. on the scaffold, he demanded a return of the unjustly-seized land in the name of those who were pillaged. Saint-Simon, although by birth a scion of the ruling race (he was a direct descendant of Louis the Pious), was nevertheless impartial enough to recognise in the subjection of the Kelto-Romans by their Germanic conquerors the root of that order, or rather disorder, which collapsed in the Revolution. And in similar fashion Gumplowicz had to regard the relation of the dominant Germans of imperial Austria to his own Poland, partitioned and ruled by the three great Eastern Powers. It

was only a second and logically necessary step for him to raise this observed relation to the plane of a general law: not only the Austrian State, but all States without exception arose through the same mechanism. The Estates of the Realm and after them the classes were everywhere formed by a single stroke through the utilisation of extra-economic force, and not developed slowly through economic differentiation. This was a thought that was bound to overturn all sociological science, for European sociology in all its departments—history, political science, jurisprudence, political economy, &c.—had considered the principle of economic differentiation as an axiom in no need of demonstration and had proceeded from this basic assertion. Gumplowicz himself performed much of this revolutionary labour for great portions of history, for the whole study of political rights and for substantial parts of the remaining doctrines of jurisprudence. It remained for me only to draw like consequences for theoretical economics. Among the scholars of the Graz Professor, of whom I am proud to count myself one, there must be mentioned the late Austrian lieutenant-general, Ratzenhofer, whom I have already described as completely dominated by the personal equation typical of the rancorous German-Austrian. A late follower of Epicurus, Ratzenhofer also held to the doctrine of "absolute hostility" between groups, a doctrine that in itself is already tremendously exaggerated, because in primitive societies we find countless peaceful contacts between tribes. Ratzenhofer carried this exaggeration still further by his absolute neglect of the intra-tribal relations of friendliness and mutual aid. Another scholar of Gumplowicz was the important American sociologist, Albion W. Small, Professor in Chicago, who also, unfortunately, died recently. Gumplowicz's basic idea, which in our opinion cannot be scientifically refuted, has constantly gained ground since the death of its propounder. Among the German social philosophers, Nelson accepted it fully, while Max Scheler tends lately to approach closer and closer to it.

THIS doctrine forms a leading article in the avowed principles of the Frankfurt school, which treats not only general sociology, but also political theory and economics. I am able to give here only an extremely brief outline of the economic theory which I have propounded. This substantially is as follows: the conquest and subjection of one people by another which occasions the State, also, and at the same time occasions what we call the "feudal area." This is characterised by two institutions, the politico-social institution of the differentiation of the classes, and the economic institution of the *monopolisation of the soil* by the nobility in the juristic form of huge demesne estates which were contiguous and filled the land; a monopolisation, in other words, which prevented access by the mass of the people to the natural means of production, the land.

WITHIN this feudal area there gradually grows up the trade and industry of the towns and the Third Estate comes into being. But this development is everywhere checked and hindered by the feudal institutions against which the Third Estate at length is compelled to take up the cudgels. In the revolutions of 1649 in England, 1789 in France, 1848 in Germany, and 1905 in Russia, victory is achieved, and one of the two feudal institutions, the juristic differentiation of the orders and classes, is done away with. But the second one, the monopolisation of the land, remains. And therein lies the root of capitalism. If, in accordance with current usage, we are to understand under this term an order in which there is prevalent the sale of such goods as have been produced by exploited labour for a market which has advanced to a money economy, then all over the world, in the slave-economy of antiquity, as well as in modern Europe, agrarian capitalism is the beginning of that process which commercial-industrial capitalism has but slowly and hesitantly followed. This is valid also, for instance, for England, as Brodnitz lately showed beyond all doubt. And it holds equally true for the Continent. Georg Friedrich Knapp may be quoted in this connection. He names the great manorial agricultural estates (*Rittergutsbetriebe*) eastward of the Elbe as the first capitalistic undertakings of modern times. We considered previously what a revolution it signified for Europe when the Knights, the feudal warriors, were transformed into holders of demesne estates and therefore into modern agrarian capitalists.

UNDER these circumstances it was inevitable that the industry of the towns must also take on the character of capitalism. When the agricultural labourers received their legal freedom they found themselves nevertheless still legally excluded from their natural instrument of production, the land. They were faced by a monopoly and, like every contractor to a monopolist, they had to sell their product, their labour, for a price that was less than its actual value. Basically, therefore, the large landed proprietors still retained their old feudal rents. The pressure, on the agricultural proletariat was so great that they migrated in huge numbers to the thriving towns. But here also, since they were possessed of no instruments of production, their relationship to the "capitalists" who *did* own the tools of production, was that of "one-sided urgency of the need of exchange," and this on a market which was already over-supplied with their product, labour, on account of the tremendous migration. In consequence, they had to be content with a wage that barely attained the minimum existence level, with the same wage that was still being paid to the labourers who had remained on the land, all in accordance with the old proposition that in the long run like prices will be paid for similar products on the same market. This is the simple derivation of capitalistic exploitation. The latest developments in American

labour relations gives thorough confirmation to these statements. Since the time that severe restrictions were applied by the United States to the waves of immigration from Europe, from the time, in other words, that the States withdrew themselves somewhat from the influence of the "feudal area" which still persists in Europe, wages there have risen to an extent that neither the bourgeois nor the Marxian system can even begin to explain. It was possible for me, on the contrary, to predict precisely this development as long ago as the year 1906.[†] The world economy is an immense unity; wherever and whenever it is poisoned by force and forcefully acquired possessions, from that centre the infection spreads over mountains and oceans and contaminates even the most distant peoples. We make the assertion that the United States, under the Constitution as it was worked out by William Penn and by Jefferson, Franklin and Washington, would truly have become the fortunate land of happiness and justice, if the immigration from the feudal lands of Europe had not supplied such enormous masses of exploitable labour. It is immediately apparent that the economy of free commerce and industry can develop in a feudal area only in a lame and halting way. We commit ourselves once again, in other words, to that happy belief in the "cunning of reason" which will lead the peoples, precisely by means of free competition to the "Harmony of all Interests." And we are convinced that this "glad tidings" will soon find adherents everywhere, displacing the sociological pessimism which to-day corrupts our existence as Relativism in the realm of morality and as Imperialism in the realm of society.

FURTHER particulars of our Frankfurt school have already been mentioned in the course of these discourses. Ours is a sociology solely of civilisation, and neither of culture, which we leave to the historians, nor still less of social philosophy, which we leave to the philosophers. This, however, does not stand in the way of our continued efforts to base our science, methodologically and philosophically, upon firm foundations. Concerning methodology sufficient has been said. Philosophically speaking, I acknowledge myself personally an adherent of practical philosophy; in jurisprudence and in ethics, therefore, I lean decidedly to Kant and to the extension of his ideas by Nelson.

WE have endeavoured, further, to supply a firm social-psychological base for our sociology. Something of this has already been mentioned. We believe we have rearranged and in certain respects extended that foundation of all possible sociology, the doctrine of instincts.

ONE other point is to be emphasised here, since it forms the subject matter of the one great scholastic debate which is at present being

[†] "Was uns die russische Agrarreform bedeutet" (*Patria, Jahrbuch der Hilfe*, 1906; reprinted in my *WEGE ZUR GEMEINSCHAFT*, München, 1924, pp. 181-2).

conducted in Germany. This debate is going on between the Frankfurt school, of which I am the leader, and the Cologne school, led by Leopold von Wiese. We regard social institutions decidedly as objectivities and we approach in this way the viewpoint of Durkheim, who contended that they should be regarded as "*faits sociaux*." Thus we get a sharp borderline which divides sociology in its actual and narrowest sense from social psychology which, in our opinion, lies on the outer confines of our science.

OUR forerunners attempted unsuccessfully to make this differentiation, as the great dispute between the objectivist, Durkheim, and the social-psychologist, Tarde, shows. But, to-day, we can undertake it with full assurance and for this we have to thank the methodological inquiries of the school led by Rickert, who showed that the same "object of perception" may furnish various objects of cognition to different sciences. An "object of perception," that is to say, a piece of reality, contains countless characteristics which, in their totality, cannot be dealt with scientifically. Each science therefore chooses from this infinite aggregation those characteristics which concern it, and forms therefrom its own particular objects of cognition, abstracting from all others. Edmund Husserl then showed further that this is not to be construed as a matter of arbitrary choice, but on the contrary as one of given objective correlations. A piece of iron, for instance, is considered by the chemist first in its concatenation with all metals and then in its reciprocal relations with all substances generally. The physicist considers that piece of iron in its concatenations with all other carriers and guiders of energies, the technologist in its concatenation with all other building material, &c.

So also may social psychology and sociology in its narrower sense be said to have the same "object of perception" for their field. This was called by Dilthey, "the societal-historical reality." Both sciences deal with norms and imperatives, with State and society, justice and ethics, dominion and co-operation, culture and civilisation, &c. Social psychology considers these objects of perception in connection with their spiritual root in the individual, considers them as "subjective" contents of consciousness which seek realisation in action. Sociology proper, however, considers them as objective structures and functions of the living unity, "Society." Or, in other words, the social psychologist considers introspectively the relations of men to each other, in order to "understand" them sympathetically; the sociologist, however, considers them from the outside as though he had no part in them, considers them quite as an external presentation of facts to the senses.

It seems to us as though the possibility, even the inevitability of this mode of consideration cannot well be denied. To take only a single

instance, it is certain that a person can come to grief on a legal principle that he does not know and cannot even understand, quite as well as a ship can on a rock. Nevertheless, the Cologne school hesitates to accompany us on this step toward the ultimate goal.

THIS tendency may be traced back to Georg Simmel. In his first sociological period, Simmel took the following standpoint: sociology, as its name signifies, is a science of society. But all possible *contents* of social life are already claimed by old established sciences, by history, jurisprudence, political science, political economy, philology, &c., &c. For a separate science there remains then, only the study of the *form* of society. Accordingly, this must necessarily be a science analogous, let us say, to grammar and logic, which also deal not with the contents but solely with the forms of language and thought. But these views were completely discarded by Simmel in his last period. Like ourself, he separated general sociology sharply from social philosophy, and he tried to mark out a third study which he called "pure sociology." The last category was to include the research into the *forms* of society. This change was occasioned by the influence of the methodological investigations of Rickert.

THE ground abandoned by Simmel has been held fast, meanwhile, by two other German thinkers. The first of these is the Berlin Professor, Alfred Vierkandt, who began his sociological studies in the field of ethnography, where he did excellent work. The second follower of Simmel and the most active defender of the viewpoint which he relinquished is Leopold von Wiese und Kaiserswaldau, of Cologne. He desires to limit sociology to his so-called "Doctrine of Relations" — "Beziehungslehre."

As against this we hold that this small outer area of social psychology belongs really to the outer confines of sociology in its wider sense. We concede readily that it is worth while to cultivate this field, but we maintain that it is not permissible to describe it as the whole of sociology. This is already to be ruled out on scientific-historical grounds. Sociology since Comte is a well characterised science with a definite class of problems. The problem of the science has consistently been considered to consist chiefly in the investigation of the origin and development, the present position and the developmental tendency, of the great human frame-groups, from the horde upward to the State. This with the clear aim which Comte himself set, "*savoir pour prévoir, prévoir pour prévenir*"; with the definite problem, that is to say, of scientifically fathoming the social process as a whole, so that the mighty elemental forces which find play in this process can be bent to the service of humanity rather than allowed to work themselves out to mankind's harm in cataclysms such as the last and mightiest one of the world war. Sociology, in other words, is

also faced with the problem of society in its narrower sense of the "social question"; or to use another Comtian expression, it has to determine in what way "progress and order" can be joined. It follows that sociology must pursue history, political science, jurisprudence and economics, and it differs from the various sciences that delve into these matters solely because it systematically and methodically combines them with each other—team-work, the Americans call it—in order to solve those problems for which the single separate sciences are insufficient, and of which the solution can be found only if they co-operate with each other. And in this connection it is immaterial if the work of combination is undertaken by single individuals who have mastered a number of sciences or by the common activities of various enquirers. Only in this sense is our pursuit of sociology "encyclopædic," as the Cologne school scoffingly puts it. And it is certainly not encyclopædic in the sense of being a "collective medley of sciences," a fricassee of hashed up and ill-assorted single disciplines, as a despiser of sociology as a whole, the late economic historian, Georg von Below, called it.

WE are of the opinion, in other words, that sociology has its own object of cognition, which it is preparing for itself by its consideration of the combined single disciplines as its object of perception, selecting from those sciences only such characteristics as relate to the whole of social life and not to the single phenomena of social life—methodologically abstracting, meanwhile, from all other characteristics. It proceeds, to use a neologism of the latest logic of science (Paul Oppenheim) not toward "concretisation," but toward "typification." Comte meant approximately the same thing when he said that sociology should pursue the "study of generalities." In this sense the relation of sociology to the separate social sciences is similar to that of biology to the separate sciences of individual life. The latter furnish biology with exact data and they receive from biology in turn the general laws governing all life, whether in low forms or high, plant or animal. To express it finally in a third manner, sociology no longer aims at description but only theory.

CONCERNING the accomplishments of the Cologne school and its confederates—there is not complete unanimity among them—it may be said that Alfred Vierkandt's book is basically similar both in its methodology and in its contents to other good text-books on general sociology, although the psychological content, being more prominent than in many another, reflects the point of departure or preliminary studies of the author. Regarding Leopold von Wiese it is too early to render an opinion. Of his work on *GENERAL SOCIOLOGY*, we have as yet only the first part, the "Doctrine of Relations." This contains hardly more than a programme and a catalogue of the German words in which the relations between individuals and

between groups are expressed, relations of repulsion, of attraction and of neutrality. To this the author added a commentary in which many exceedingly able and pertinent sociological remarks are made, although the method by which the various judgments are arrived at does not become clear therefrom. We fear that the personal equation of the author not infrequently influenced the decision. The second part of this work, according to the announcements, will carry the title of the "Doctrine of Structures"—"Gebildelehre." Only when this is before us[†] will we know whether the author was able to remain completely faithful to his programme of treating social institutions solely from within, while disregarding altogether any treatment of such institutions as given, effective objectivities external to subjective relations. Only then will we be able to determine whether this approach is capable of furnishing results of significance for the great problems of the science.

THIS brings me to the end of my exposition. I have attempted to delineate only the greater movements, and have mentioned only those individual sociologists who can be regarded as representative leaders. I have had to deny myself any attempt to name singly the innumerable diligent and able investigators who are devoting themselves either to general sociology, where they happen to be less in the limelight, or to the several social disciplines or to philosophy in general. Among the latter are the historians and jurists, the economists and ethnologists, social psychologists and educationists, &c., &c., who only on occasion engage in disputes that touch the field of our science. It would be incorrect to single out a few, the others would quite properly object to being slighted. We can only say that here also a veritable army is working onward into the unknown, shoulder to shoulder, in order, as Nietzsche said, to conquer the land of our children.

[†] This volume has since been published: ALLGEMEINE SOZIOLOGIE, Teil II.: Duncker & Humblot, Munich and Leipzig, 1929.

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE LAW OF PROPERTY: PROPERTY
IN AFTER-WAR CONSTITUTIONS:** by D. M. Kaoutchansky:
translated from the French MS. by Miss D. E. Harvey.

A HIGHLY important problem that is actively discussed in modern times, especially after the world war, is undisputedly that of property.¹ The origin and legitimacy of property have always been matters for controversy; but the socialist schools have put down this question for immediate action.

IN spite of the evolution that property (ownership) has undergone since Rome up to present times, it has never been so limited as to-day. The great war and the subsequent revolutions have enormously restricted the idea of ownership. During the war, the citizens of both belligerent and neutral states suffered extensive interference with their property rights for the purpose of defence, that is to say, in the general interest of the whole nation.² The war thus rendered possible the practical realisation of the principle according to which ownership is merely a social duty.

THE attacks directed by socialist schools against the principle of individual property, and the idea of the socialisation of property are not new. It is sufficient to refer to Rousseau, the well-known adversary of property in his philosophical work *LE CONTRAT SOCIAL*, published about 1762, and in his celebrated pamphlet *DE L'ORIGINE DE L'INEGALITÉ PARMI LES HOMMES*, which appeared in 1753.

THE idea of the socialisation of property was proclaimed by Saint-Simon³ in *LE NOUVEAU CHRISTIANISME*, published in 1825. Saint-Simon maintained that the right to private property is founded on general and common utility.

THIS opinion was defended by Sismondi in his book *NOUVEAUX PRINCIPES D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE*, by Fourier, by Proudhon, who in his work published in 1840, *QU'EST CE QUE LA PROPRIÉTÉ?* gives the celebrated answer, "La propriété c'est le vol"; and later by Auguste Comte in his *SYSTÈME DE POLITIQUE POSITIVE*, by Alfred Fouillé in his book *LA PROPRIÉTÉ SOCIALE ET LA DÉMOCRATIE*, and lastly by the socialists, Louis Blanc in France, Robert Owen in England, Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx in Germany, and Bakounine in Tsarist Russia. A series of eminent jurists have rallied recently to this opinion, including Anton Menger (*DER SOZIALISTISCHE STAAT*) in Austria and Léon Duguit in France.

INDIVIDUALITY in rights is attacked by Duguit, who denies the existence of individual rights. Man being a social being has only the right to existence in society; his right is but a social duty. The institution of property is no longer a subjective right, but properly a social function.⁴ Property to-day is only a social duty for the possessor, to maintain, augment and enjoy that which has been entrusted to him and utilise it in the interest of society, otherwise he is accorded no protection by the judicial and social order.

¹See my article in the Roumanian Review *DREPTUL*, 1927, No. 28, pp. 223 onward; and in *BLÄTTER F. INTERN. PRIV. RT.*, 1931, No. 1., p. 7ff.

²See Ludwig Heyde, *WAR AND INDIVIDUALISM*, 1915.

³See Karl Diehl, on *SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND ANARCHY* (4th Ed.), Jena, 1922, pp. 117, 182 onward.

⁴See Léon Duguit, *THE GENERAL CHANGES IN THE LAW OF PRIVATE PROPERTY SINCE THE CODE NAPOLEON*, Paris, 1912, p. 21.

THIS idea has been adopted by Germany, in the measure that it conforms to practical German reason, after the great war and the German revolution. Thus Martin Wolff⁵ says "Das Privateigentum steht letzthin im Dienste der Allgemeinheit" (private property is now at the service of the community) or "Im Eigentum steckt eine Pflicht zu sozial sachgemässer Rechtsausübung" (in property there resides a duty to exercise one's right in the social interest). The German State Tribunal has declared itself in an analogous sense.⁶ M. Hedemann also demands the limitation of property in favour of the community.⁷ This point of view is likewise adopted by Roumanian⁸ and Jugoslavian⁹ doctrine.

IN effect, the principle according to which the rights to private ownership are sacred and inviolable is to-day nothing more than a fiction, as Menger has very well said.¹⁰ It is ridiculous still to speak of the liberty of property and contract,¹¹ which in reality no longer exists. For some time attention has been directed to the fact that ownership is no longer unlimited, by citing public dispossession, the right of one's neighbour and, particularly in Germany, Section 308 of the penal code now in force, where ownership is limited by public law.¹² We have only to recall the laws enacted during and especially after the war relative to lodgings, rents, the worker and the control of prices, to be convinced that liberal opinion as to the liberty of private ownership is abandoned. The large succession of transformations that private ownership has undergone has proved that ownership is always variable; it can and must give way and be adapted to every social situation.¹³ Such is the conception of doctrine and jurisprudence in our time. Man as an individual is always losing more of his independence.¹⁴

LASSALLE, in his remarkable work on the philosophy of law (SYSTEM DER ERWORBENEN RECHT, Leipzig, 1861), for which even his great contemporary and political adversary, Bismarck, had nothing but admiration, shows that the march of cultural history, the whole history of law, ends in this, that the sphere of individual ownership is always becoming more limited, that an ever-increasing number of goods disappear from private ownership. It is asserted in our time that every individual subjective right is in the first rank of public duties. Thus the right of ownership is to-day nothing but a duty. When the individual life of every person is entirely enclosed in group organisations, his actions are not private actions for which the individual could not be held responsible to a group, an organisation, and through these to the State. It is a matter of dispute whether a distinction can still be made between private and public law. It is uncontestable—Jellinek

⁵See Wolff, LAW OF PROPERTY (9-11 Ed.), Marburg, 1919, p. 178, § 64, 1, and p. 144.

⁶COURT OF CASSATION, Vol. 89, p. 121.

⁷See Hedemann, CIVIL LAW AND MODERN TIMES, Jena, 1919, p. 1 onwards.

⁸Compare Costin, DESPRE CONCEPTILE ACTUALE ALE PROPRIETATII SI CONSTITUTIA, Conference at the Roumanian Social Institute, 2nd April, 1922.

⁹See Zivojin Paunovitch, in L'ARCHIV ZA PRAVNE I DRUCHTVENE NAUKE, Belgrade, 1926, p. 40 onwards (in Serbian).

¹⁰See Menger, CIVIL LAW AND THE NON-PROPERTY-OWNING CLASSES, 4th Edition, Tübingen, 1908, p. 116.

¹¹See Sombart, GERMAN POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (3rd Ed.), Berlin, 1913, p. 132, and Baum, ORGANISATION ZWANG UND TAX VERTRAG, New Journal of Labour Law, Year 11, 1922, p. 2.

¹²See PLANIOL, CIVIL LAW (10th Ed.), 1925. Vol. I. § 2333 onward.

¹³See Leon Duguit, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, Vol. III, p. 618.

¹⁴Compare A. A. Issajeff, INDIVIDUALITY AND SOCIALISM. Berlin, 1919, p. 3.

has confirmed this—that it is very difficult to trace the frontier between private and public law (the more so as the facts of history continually displace it), and between the limitations brought to property from the side of private law and from the side of public law.¹⁵ It is to-day uncontested that private law contains a large part of public law¹⁶ and that limitations arise more from public law than from private law. Look no further than the domain of the law of protection, especially the police, the army, industry, social assurances, the law of religion and education, and we find serious restrictions brought to bear on individual liberty by public law.

CONCERNING the rights of property in European legislation now in force, it must be observed that not only English common law¹⁷ speaks of inviolability of property, but also the law of Continental States recognises to-day, but more on paper than in fact, the unlimited power of the owner over the chattel. A famous code of the 19th century, the Austrian Civil Code of 1811, sets out in Section 354: "Considered as a right, property is the authority to dispose of a chattel and its uses according to one's pleasure, to the exclusion of all others."

LIKEWISE the Napoleonic Code of 1804, the most celebrated portion of 19th Century legislation, which adopted the Roman system of individual property, sets out in Article 544: "Property is the right to enjoy and dispose of chattels in the most absolute manner provided no use is made that is forbidden by the laws and ordinances."¹⁸

THE same definition is found in Belgian, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Roumanian laws, which have followed French ideas.

IN spite of the proclamation of its inviolability by the Napoleonic Code and by the French Constitution of 1848,¹⁹ property has undergone in our time and particularly since 1914, numerous and important restrictions. Thus no one to-day can any longer maintain that property is still absolute²⁰ in the sense of Article 544.

LIKEWISE the ancient law of Russia, still in force in the Baltic States, in Lithuania and in the ancient Russian territory of Poland²¹ confers on the proprietor (Article 420) the right to possess, use and dispose of the chattel perpetually and hereditarily.

¹⁵See Jellinek, *UNIVERSAL POLITICAL SCIENCE* (3rd Ed.), Berlin, 1920, p. 385. Compare F. V. Taranovsky *ENCYCLOPEDIA PRAVA* (2nd Ed.), Berlin, 1920, p. 190 (in Russian) in *THE WORKS OF RUSSIAN SAVANTS ABROAD UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PROFESSOR KAMENKA*.

¹⁶Compare Hedemann, *CIVIL LAW AND MODERN TIMES*, Jena, 1919, p. 19. See for the Russian doctrine Sagorovsky, *KURS SEMEINAVO PRAVA* (2nd Ed., Odessa, 1909, p. 4.) Worms-Eljachevitvh, *SAKONY GRAZDANSKIE, KOMMENTARIJ*, Vypusk 1, Moscow, 1913, p. 53, and Tiutriumov, *GRAZDANSKOJE PRAVO*, Dorpat, 1922, p. 393.

¹⁷See Edward Fisher—Richard Jenery Shee, *THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION*, London, 1863, p. 72 onward.

¹⁸See Planiol, *op. cit.*, § 2329.

¹⁹See Esmein, *ELEMENTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, FRENCH AND COMPARATIVE* (7th Ed.) Paris, 1921, Vol. II, pp. 537 onward.

²⁰See Saleilles, *The Civil Code and historical method in LIVRE DU CENTENAIRE*, Paris, 1904, Vol. I, p. 3. Compare Terrat, *SYSTEM OF OWNERSHIP IN THE CIVIL CODE*, *loc. cit.* pp. 350 onward.

²¹On this subject see my study "European Marriage Law" in Niemeyer's *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR INTERNATIONALES RECHT*, 1928, Vol. 40, p. 8.

THE German Civil Code of 1896, which has followed Prussian law on this point, expresses more democratically and in less vigorous terms the Swiss Civil Code of 1907, which has replaced the word "Willkür" (arbitrary pleasure) by the word "Belieben" (as one pleases, without restraint). The German code says in Section 903: "The proprietor of a chattel has the right, so long as the rights of a third are not injured, to use the chattel as he pleases and to the exclusion of all others." The Swiss Civil Code, Article 641, says: "The proprietor of a chattel has the right to dispose of it as he pleases within the limits of the law."²²

THE new constitutions of the post-war period have followed the ideas of the French scholar, Duguit. The German Constitution of August 11th, 1919, adopted the theory of the socialisation of property in Article 153, paragraph 3: "Property is an obligation, its use must at the same time be a service rendered to the common good." This provision, as Herr Anschütz, Professor of Public Law at Heidelberg University, says, only counts as a directing line for the legislator of the future.²³ We thus see that the German Constitution has abandoned the theory of the exclusive character of property; it gives to property a constitutional guarantee according to the terms and within the limits fixed by law. Already before the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution, the Constitution of Baden, of March 21st, 1919, contained in Section 14 the following provision: "Property is placed under the protection of the Constitution. It is limited by common economic interests."

THE law of property is likewise guaranteed by the Constitutions of Esthonia, of August 9th, 1920, Section 21, of Poland of March 17th, 1921, Article 95, of Lithuania, of August 1st, 1922, Article 21. All these recognise the traditional principle of modern law according to which property cannot be expropriated except by force of law and on grounds of public utility. The brief prescriptions of the constitutions of the Baltic States and Poland are explained as a reaction against the extreme ideas coming from Soviet Russia.

CONCERNING the new Constitution of Roumania, of March 28th, 1923, it must be observed that, according to Article 17, property is no longer sacred and inviolable. The Roumanian philosopher and jurisconsult, M. Andrei Radulescu, explains that property is guaranteed, but its expropriation may be extended.²⁴ Similarly, the new Yugoslavian constitution of June 28th, 1921, Article 37, says: "Private property is recognised. Property inspires the obligation that its use does not harm the interests of society."

As for Soviet law, which is so strongly characterised by the new social spirit, the decrees concerning private property of October 26th, December 14th, 1917; of February 19th, April 27th and August 20th, 1918; and of April 16th, 1920, and the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Soviet Russia of July 10th, 1918 (Article 3), which dates from the epoch of military communism, have entirely

²²Compare Wieland, Commentary on the Swiss Civil Code, Vol. IV, LAW OF PROPERTY, Zurich, 1909, Arg. Art. 641.

²³See Anschütz, THE GERMAN IMPERIAL CONSTITUTION OF 11TH AUGUST, 1919, Berlin, 1921, Art. 153, Arg. 7. Compare Giese, THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF 11TH AUGUST, 1919, Berlin, 1920, Art. 153, Arg. 12.

²⁴See Andrei Radulescu, SAIZECI DE ANI DE COD CIVIL, Bucuresti, 1926, p. 35. Compare my review in KRITISCHE VIERTELJAHRSSCHRIFT FÜR GESETZGEBUNG UND RECHTSWISSENSCHAFT, Munich, 1930, Vol. XXVI, p. 164 onward.

abolished individual property, and, at the same time, by the decree of April 27th, 1918, the institution of right of succession; but property reappears by the ordinance of the Central Executive Committee, dated May 22nd, 1922, right of succession by that of March 1st, 1926. The Soviet Civil Code, which came into force on January 1st, 1923, is posterior to the new economic policy—N.E.P.—which was inaugurated by Lenin in the declaration of the IXth Soviet Congress (December 31st, 1921). It has opened the field to private initiative, although within very narrow limits, by modifying the orientation of social activity. Section 58 of the Civil Code says: "To the proprietor belongs, within the limits of the law, the right of possession, of use, and of disposition of the chattel." The first Article of the same code says: "Civil rights enjoy the protection of law except in cases where they are opposed to its social and economic intention."

Thus, to use the example given by M. Alexandre Hoichbarg, Soviet Professor and Chief Clerk in the Bureau of Laws: if the owner of a mill, serving the needs of a district, does not work it, the exercise of such rights, which opposes their social-economic intention, justifies the law in actively intervening and handing the mill over to another.²⁵ Observe in this connection that M. Hoichbarg's example has its model in English law (Finance Act, 1910, quoted by Duguit) according to which the owner of a piece of ground that he does not work, has to pay a special tax to the State corresponding to the value of the ground.

THE Constitution of Weimar (Article 155, paragraph 3) has the same effect, which is only an application of the theory of the socialisation of rights: "The exploitation and utilisation of the soil is a duty of the proprietor towards the community." Thus it is seen that Soviet law contains in germ the negation of individual rights and consequently is an application of Duguit's theory, according to which ownership is only a social duty, and the liberty of the individual in society is only a consequence of the duty of the individual to place his individuality at the service of the common good.²⁶ This is why the Bolshevik legislator so violently attacks Liberalism and Individualism, and the new economic policy—N.E.P.—has only conferred the rights of property on the individual with a view to productive action conformable to this end. In Soviet law, the enjoyment of civil rights has the character of a *donatio sub modo* with the public interest as its final aim.

²⁵See Hoichbarg, ECONOMIC LAW IN THE R.S.F.S.R., Vol. I, 1923, p. 21, note.

²⁶See Duguit, GENERAL CHANGES IN THE LAW OF PRIVATE PROPERTY SINCE THE CODE NAPOLEON, Paris, 1912, pp. 23 onward.

PROCESSES OF SECULARISATION: AN IDEAL-TYPICAL
ANALYSIS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERSON-
ALITY CHANGE AS AFFECTED BY POPULATION
MOVEMENT: by Howard Becker, Smith College.

PART II.

IN concluding Part I. of this article the writer stated :

AND so it is that dispersion [movements of small plurality patterns or monads in the forms of immigration, flight, and travel], a type of population movement having as much if not more contemporary relevance than any other, is also better adapted than any other to provide as general an answer as can or should be given to the question: "What is secularisation?"—an answer in terms of process.

9.

Now in order to get at the process or processes of secularisation as affected by dispersion, the latter phenomenon must be accounted for in terms of the personalities involved; it cannot be taken for granted. Analysis of interstitial-symbiotic nomadism (*e.g.*, the Gypsy variety) has demonstrated that there is no such thing as an inborn racial tendency to frequent change of geographical or vicinal location, no such thing as a racial *Wanderlust*; further, it has been shown that vicinal isolation tends to be self-perpetuating, and moreover, that an intrusive factor (Teggart) is necessary if isolation of any kind is to be broken down. Once more, it has been shown that the low rate of personality change and social change among isolated groups does *not* involve the assumption that human nature is sluggish or inert; Ogburn's thesis that "in some situations human beings want to change and in others they do not"¹² has received ample confirmation since its enunciation. In other words, dispersion is the result of definite social situations, and must be so analysed.

THERE are certain social situations which are in a sense constants, *i.e.*, they are always evident in some degree, however slight. Various culture case studies have presented the concrete aspects of these situations; the results attained may be abstractly phrased as follows: the most stable social organisation, the most isolated sacred society to be found empirically, is but a moving equilibrium maintained by the equal action of relatively slow processes of disorganisation and reorganisation, and within such societies some social personalities are, relatively speaking, always undergoing a process of disorganisation which may or may not be succeeded by reorganisation. The relation of these processes to dispersion must now be made clear.

¹²W. F. Ogburn, *SOCIAL CHANGE*, p. 191.

Ab initio, life involves activity of one sort or another, and this activity flows in definite channels, follows certain patterns. The patterns in which the activities of human beings are worked out are based upon the needs of the organism—no amount of emphasis upon culture should cause us to lose sight of this fact!—but these needs of the organism are not at first socially defined. The patterns are acquired in the process of social definition; they are not “hormic” expressions of the *élan vital* or the Limitless Whichness. This has been discussed by Shonle as follows:

THE initial stage of any plan or activity is a more or less vague impulse craving, or longing which manifests itself in restless trial-and-error seeking. In this stage the possibilities of fulfilment are manifold, and a tentative response is made to many different stimuli in the effort to find the one particular type of stimulus which gives maximum satisfaction to the need felt. To take a simple example, a child may be hungry, without even knowing that he is hungry. He becomes restless and “fussy.”¹³

It is obvious that these needs are necessarily the product of social definition, since man is born into a social group. Take the example just used:

[THE child's hunger] . . . is recognised by his mother or nurse and he is fed. In time the child associates his hunger-feeling with food and knows that he is hungry. His impulse has become defined for him, and the second stage of the completed act has been reached. The next time he is hungry he seeks food. In the case of food it is usually easy to find.¹⁴

And when it is found, the third and final stage of the act has been reached; the social definition has become incorporated in the habits or attitudes of the child. Such definition of elementary cravings is the process by which the child becomes human, by which the biological individual is transformed into the sociological person. Definitions of a large number of situations likely to occur in the life of the child are consciously or unconsciously inculcated by the other members of the isolated sacred society, even when that society has been pared down to the particularistic family; he has his needs cast into patterns by his elders, who by thus shaping him as a social personality in a sense play God to the child without being possessed of the attributes of either omnipotence or omniscience.

THE elders being thus unfortunately limited, the patterns they pass on sometimes do not function as they should, especially in periods of rapid social change, for these patterns are dependent for their smooth functioning and adequate correspondence to defined needs upon the smooth functioning of the social organisations which define and continually re-define the originally vague impulses resulting from the elementary needs.

¹³Ruth Shonle, *SUICIDE* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 168.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 169.

As already pointed out by Thomas and Znaniecki, the social organisation, if it does not satisfy the impulses which it has defined, is to that extent disorganised, and this state of affairs has as consequence the disorganisation of the personalities of those of its members whose defined cravings are unsatisfied, thwarted, or blocked. This lack of correspondence between cravings and the means of satisfying them may be due to: (1) relatively direct blocking of fundamental organic needs for food, drink, &c.; (2) the thwarting of patterns laid down in the character-attitude and the life-organisations; (3) the lack of a particularised stimulus; (4) conflict between the defined wish and some other attitude that opposes and contradicts this wish. This last cause is frequently if not always the subjective aspect of conflicting elements within a community that is just becoming accessible; the irreconcilable struggle between sacred and secular has started.

THE inception of accessibility may be catastrophic in nature—the result of sudden inclusive conquest, for example—or it may be very gradual; in the latter case the struggle may be so slow in developing that it is at first accompanied by low tension and little emotion, but it may cumulatively increase until high tension and much emotion are generated, which in turn force action even if it promises little satisfaction. In other words, an intrusive factor disturbs equilibrium, and this brings about tension and emotion, which is externally manifest in unrest that ultimately precipitates crisis, and an attempt at adjustment is made even though there is small hope of success. In popular parlance, the situation becomes intolerable and something has to be done!

QUITE often dispersion is what is “done”; it is a readily available surrogate medium for actions blocked and wishes thwarted by the disorganisation of the isolated sacred society so frequently resulting from increased accessibility. Unless a pattern for such surrogate dispersion already exists, however, disorganisation may be quite far-reaching before movement away from the society is undertaken; sacred modes of behaviour are not readily changed. But where such a surrogate pattern is at hand, relatively slight disorganisation may issue in dispersion, in spite of the fact that the society usually disapproves.

THIS disapproval is of course rooted in that emotional resistance to change which, as Boas has shown, is the correlate of fixed motor habits developed in isolation, but there are other reasons as well. For instance, no group likes to lose members if it is engaged in overt or covert conflict or competition with an out-group. Again, even if the dispersing monad plans to return, he nevertheless withdraws from the isolated sacred society and its control, and develops interests which the sessile group members cannot approve nor hope to share, all of which is not likely to elicit hearty approval of dispersion. Once more,

the desire to leave the group is—nay, must be—interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction which any isolated sacred society perforce condemns.

FROM the foregoing it follows that dispersion is a sign that the isolated sacred society is being disorganised faster than the counter-balancing process of reorganisation can maintain the moving equilibrium, and the counterpart of this is disorganisation of the dispersing monad, the sacred stranger. When dispersion is voluntary, he rarely, if ever, has been untouched by secularisation; he has, as it were, been partially secularised as a preparation for movement. The degree of secularisation may be and usually is very slight; in relation to the secular society to which he goes he is a decidedly sacred stranger, but nevertheless his character-attitudes and life-organisation have begun to break down *before* leaving the isolated sacred society; the process of breaking away from the sacred routine has already begun, and in his own community he represents an element of unrest that if restrained from the attempt to meet crisis by dispersive adjustment might foment insurrection, preach heresy, or commit murder, although milder evidences of maladjustment are more likely. Disorganisation and dispersion are correlated; the isolated sacred society must become in some measure accessible and the sacred stranger must in some degree be secularised before dispersion can take place.

10.

WHEN dispersion has taken place, the monads or small plurality patterns involved tend to become still more secular, but there are many positive and negative influences (no value-judgment implied!) that respectively further or retard this tendency, so that the rate of secularisation varies widely from one empirical sacred stranger to another.

It may be accelerated by such influences as: (1) the immaturity and consequent neurological plasticity of the sacred stranger in question—his character-attitudes therefore have not yet been impressed deeply enough to insure mental immobility; (2) the temperamental instability of his character—his biological inheritance may have equipped him with urges which are not given adequate place in the social definitions of his group; (3) the isolation of the sacred stranger from his people and language after dispersion—if he not only disperses as a monad but subsequently is also forced to live a monadic life, mental mobilisation, *i.e.*, secularisation, is rendered more rapid; (4) the further disorganisation of his native sacred community after his departure—if he receives news of the collapse of traditional patterns, they are less likely to exert binding force upon him; and (5) the death of parents or other symbols of the social control exerted by the elders—if they die in the society left behind, the effect may be much the same as that issuing from the collapse of traditional patterns. This list of influences

furthering secularisation might be indefinitely extended, but it is now long enough to show how positive influences may be responsible for varying rates of secularisation.

SOME negative influences retarding secularisation may be: (1) the advanced age and consequent neurological rigidity of the sacred stranger in question; his character-attitudes have therefore already been impressed so deeply that mental immobility is inevitable; (2) the fixity of his character due to innate inelasticity of psycho-physical equipment; this may be and often is externally manifest as low intelligence; (3) the persistence of the ties of the isolated sacred society, often evident when the sacred strangers under observation have dispersed in the form of such plurality-patterns as the particularistic marriage-group; and (4) enmity or antagonism between the sacred stranger and the inhabitants of the secondary culture area; this is often the result of high visibility and its consequent categoric contacts, as the cases of the Gypsy and the Jew show. This list also might be indefinitely extended, but a sufficient number of negative influences have been noted to show how secularisation may be retarded. (It should be stated that those persons in whom negative influences are dominant are not likely to be secularised in advance of dispersion; they seldom if ever take the initiative in such movement, and are usually carried along as passive members of dispersing plurality patterns).

II.

WHEN negative influences are greatly overbalanced by positive influences the secularisation of the dispersed sacred stranger goes on at a rapid rate; the aspect of such secularisation first apparent is usually that type of individuation popularly termed demoralisation. The social personality of the sacred stranger tends to break down so suddenly, and rational secular attitudes and life-organisation are so slowly acquired, that he reverts in some measure to the merely biological individual. The only way in which this reversion can be prevented or checked is by a process of reorganisation as a result of which new character-attitudes and life-organisation, functionally integrated within the accessible secular society, are built up; unless the dispersed sacred stranger takes on a new rôle which vouchsafes him a number of primary contacts, &c., adequate to his socially patterned organic needs, the adjustment made by dispersion is unsatisfactory, and instead of a lessening of tension and unrest there is an increase! The means taken to relieve this maladjustment frequently bring about a final breach with the attenuated sacred character-attitudes, with the consequence that urges not directly involved and formerly held in check by those same character-attitudes successfully assert themselves, and there ensues a cyclical building up and releasing of tension and unrest that

when repeated often enough finally issues in the almost complete loss of the majority of the traditional social patterns defining organic needs. Further, if the new contacts are merely symbiotic (as empirically they often are and as ideal-typically they must be in the accessible secular society) the dispersed sacred stranger is gradually stripped of the folkways and mores of the isolated sacred society, both by the operation of the "law of use and disuse" and by the inhibiting effect of involuntary activities contravening the character-attitudes acquired in that community. The process by which this symbiotic demoralisation is brought about may be outlined in greater detail as follows:

FIRST, the character-attitudes and their correlated life-organisation disintegrate because the central character-attitudes, upon which all the rest depend, are those which in their very nature can be maintained only in the isolated sacred society. Some reasons for this may now be given. (1) They are more or less systematised with reference to the particular configuration of that society, and when one of them fails as a result of dispersion the others have thrown upon them a strain greater than they can bear without reinforcement from other members of the isolated sacred society. (2) They are concerned with the social meanings of objects or values, and *social* meanings are meanings only when projected against a background of experience common to many individuals and known as common by all of them. The *social* meanings in an environment where symbiotic relationships predominate, i.e., the accessible secular society, are very few, and unless a sufficient number of *social* relationships replace or supplement the symbiotic relationships, there are not enough social meanings to maintain the character-attitudes and life-organisation of the sacred stranger. (3) They are built upon a basis of emotional solidarity, emotional participation, and emotional amalgamation¹⁵ and this basis presupposes contacts far closer than can be found anywhere outside of the isolated sacred society—least of all in the accessible secular society. Hence the character-attitudes disintegrate.

SECOND, the life-organisation of the sacred stranger breaks up. This organisation is the totality of intellectual methods for controlling social phenomena as they affect the social career of the person in question; it was shaped with reference to the function which he was to fill in the isolated sacred society, and hence was correlated with an organised body of folk-wisdom defining every situation in sacred, i.e., emotionally "unalterable," terms. Life-organisation, character-attitudes, and societal sanctions form one interacting whole; there can be no separation between them so long as the society remains isolated and sacred. The slightly secularised sacred stranger has left the little world in which his life-organisation took form and shape, and his incipient

¹⁵ Cf. the writer's article, "Forms of Sympathy: A Phenomenological Analysis" in JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, April, 1931.

secularisation soon develops to a degree commensurate with the rapidly changing great world into which he has come : his life-organisation goes to pieces as a consequence. Why ? Because it was constructed with reference to a relatively stable society in which all the situations that could ever confront the individual were defined by the traditions of the society, especially as represented in the elders. In totally new situations for which the sacred stranger has acquired no ready-made definitions, situations such as are found in the accessible secular society, the old life-organisation cannot even begin to function. To make matters worse, this society is not only new, but is in constant flux as well ; its perpetually-renewed novelty might satisfy even Faust, who, in a simpler age, asked only for " trees that deck them with new verdure daily." The life-organisation of the sacred stranger is no more than a set of rules for relatively constant situations, formulæ for a fixed world ; in order to reorganise the maze of social phenomena emerging in the accessible secular society in accordance with a new perception of the dynamic nature of the latter, the old rigid and static life-organisation must be consciously set aside. The sacred stranger is usually quite as unable to attain to such conscious rejection as he is to reach a perception of the dynamic nature of the new world into which he has come ; he is torn between the old and the new, and rarely has an adequate grasp of either. The old life-organisation will not function properly, and yet he frequently cannot abandon it and seize another in time to prevent disaster ; hence it is hopelessly wrecked, and the character-attitudes of the sacred stranger with it.

WHEN character-attitudes and life-organisation thus become disorganised and when little or no reorganisation and reconstruction takes place, the person with a full set of social patterns defining all organic needs is partially reduced to the biological individual, who has no group definitions of behaviour and who lives wholly in the present on an organic level ; that is, nothing but shreds of character-attitudes remain, and temperamental attitudes assume the major rôle. When this occurs, important results ensue ; these results issue from the nature of such temperamental attitudes, and an analysis of the latter is in a sense a description of the results.

12.

LET us therefore analyse them. Per definition, the temperamental attitudes are primarily biological ; they are the irreducible organic bases of behaviour, and although overlaid or partially transmuted by social conditionings, remain as the persisting core of the whole personality structure. In other words, they are the fundamental original group of attitudes of the biological individual as existing in *relative* although by no means complete independence of any social influence. Hunger, sex, and other segmental drives are examples. What is not

explicit in the definition is that they are not consciously connected with their separate manifestations in action, i.e., they are segmental; moreover, they are associated quite mechanically, hence they are not systematically organised and co-ordinated into a configuration. Further they are concerned only with natural objects, the significance of which for the person is primarily determined by their sensual content (although this sensual content is always embedded in and is inseparable from a social matrix, inasmuch as it is "given" only in that matrix). Nevertheless, they are the indispensable bases of the character-attitudes, i.e., of the social personality. As already demonstrated by Thomas and Znaniecki, an individual with nothing but his temperamental attitudes is not yet a social personality; he is merely a potential one. He is a biological individual; he may *become* a person with a rôle. Once more, the temperamental attitudes are purely individual in their ultimate reference.

IN fact, the whole process of demoralisation, which is one aspect of secularisation, may be designated as the process of individuation, a process by which the social personality distinegrates to a point where there emerges "the man without conscience, the woman without shame, individuals cut loose from the laws of common humanity," human beings without either *aidôs* or *nemesis*, Lucifers like that Werner von Urslingen upon whose helmet was inscribed these words: "The enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy." Less figuratively put, the extreme empirical case of the biological individual would be "feral man," the human being gone *completely* wild—of whom "primitive man" is by no means a prototype! (This extreme, however, is rarely if ever reached by individuals who have been social personalities, even if in merely minimal degree; it is more likely to be attained by amoral individuals who have never been human at all in the strict sense of the latter term).

MANIFESTLY such individuation on the part of the dispersed sacred stranger is likely to lead to varieties of activity judged criminal or immoral by both the primary and secondary cultural-area groups. This judgment is especially probable when the secularised stranger has difficulty in taking on the norms of the secondary culture-area, i.e., of the accessible secular society. These norms may, in fact, lead to behaviour which, objectively considered, is still more individuated than that for which the inhabitants of the secondary culture-area condemn him; he may commit crime only because he is not yet entirely willing (or able) to abandon the old standards! Such crimes frequently take the form of theft, sexual irregularity, and crimes against the person such as assault, rape, murder, &c. They rarely are of a sort that involve any extensive ability on the part of the sacred stranger to make use of the superior facilities for individuation afforded by the accessible secular society.

HERE, then, is one aspect of secularisation—individuation in the form of demoralisation. The dispersed sacred stranger exemplifies better than the secular the processes involved and their correlation with population movement.

13.

A WORD or two, however, should here be said in excursus about the secular stranger, if only to remind ourselves that he exists. The Ionian *logopoioi* and *logographoi*, the Athenian Metics, and the way-faring scholars of the Renaissance were also markedly individuated, mentally mobile to an extreme degree, highly secularised, but they still were in possession of life-organisations that in many instances enabled them to control complex configurations of social phenomena; such secular strangers were not then and are not now swallowed up in the "big booming buzzing confusion" (to take liberties with James) that so frequently overwhelms the sacred stranger. Not only this: their habits of comparison, classification and analysis, of abstraction from the concrete and personal, gives them potential control over social phenomena greater than that held by any other group, so long as they are able to avoid the Scylla of demoralisation on the one hand and the Charybdis of mental immobilisation by over-rigid abstractions on the other.

WHEN such examples as those just cited recall the secular stranger to mind, the question arises: How is it that the secular stranger, although individuated, often is not demoralised, as the sacred stranger so frequently is? and further, what is the relation, if any, of the sacred to the secular personality? To supply adequate answers would take as much if not more space than has already been devoted to the sacred stranger, and inasmuch as this section is only an excursus, over-brief answers must suffice.

FIRST, the process by which secular personalities are produced is the same as that whereby the isolated sacred society is made accessible and secular, and when the process is of the nature of slow cultural alteration instead of rapid cultural mutation, adjustment that prevents the emergence of extreme demoralisation is possible. The individuated secular stranger is not merely nor always a sacred stranger who has been stripped of his old attitudes, although secularisation may, in some instances, be furthered by the stripping process; as studies of urbanisation have shown, the secular personality has worked out an adjustment in the form of a set of attitudes that are quite as dependent upon the accessible secular society as are the attitudes of the sacred personality upon the isolated sacred society.

SECOND, the sacred personality is historically prior to the secular personality; the latter is an urban or even metropolitan product, as

study of Ionia and Athens, for example, makes manifest, and urban or metropolitan economy appears comparatively late in the developmental sequence. Consequently, the relation of the sacred to the secular personality is historically that of antecedent and consequent; therefore, by examining *contemporary* sacred strangers who effect satisfactory adjustment to the accessible secular society, whose personalities are reorganised upon a more complex level, some idea (in the form of recapitulative *analogy*) of the process whereby sacred personalities *historically* became secular personalities may be gained. Such insight into the historical processes, however, can be given here only along indirect lines, i.e., by way of recapitulative analogy, for after all the main point of interest in the present context is the contemporary sacred stranger and his mode of effecting adjustment to the accessible secular society after dispersion.

THE excursus must therefore end; the sacred stranger is once more the chief object of attention.

EXTREME individuation of the sacred stranger does not always follow dispersion; some of the retarding or negative influences already noted are usually present, and considerable portions of the social personality consequently resist the secularising process; in addition, new forms are frequently acquired from the stock offered by the secondary culture area (in this case the accessible secular society). The question may well be asked: Are the norms of this society adequate to prevent extreme individuation if the influence of the isolated sacred society is entirely lacking? Let us attempt to answer it.

THE general process by which the norms of the accessible secular society are acquired has two aspects, which we may call differentiation and integration. Small, whom we shall quote with reference to this process or processes, uses the terms just given and certain synonyms as well, but in order to avoid confusion only differentiation and integration will be used here:

ASSOCIATION diversifies personalities. It puts premiums on special developments. . . . It gives more scope to each of the activities normal to all individuals, and to the rare activities peculiar to exceptional individuals.

If we take the genetic view of the social process, we may describe it in this aspect as a progressive production of more and more dissimilar men. Each change in the social situation affords a new outlet for personal idiosyncrasy, and presents new incitements to variations of conduct and character. The proverb that "it takes all sorts of people to make a world" is only one side of the reality. *It takes a world to make all sorts of people*, is equally true of the same reality. The limits of the possibilities latent in people will not be discovered until the social world has reached the limits of its development. . . . *Production of personal differentiations* might be fixed upon as an approximate expression for the whole output of the social process. . . .¹⁶

¹⁶Albion W. Small, *GENERAL SOCIOLOGY* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905), pp. 589-90.

THE same facts, otherwise viewed, yield the apparently antithetical proposition that association not only fits the units into accommodation with each other, but that association is essentially assimilation of the individual life-process to the social life-process. *It is integration of the process in the units with the process in the whole.* The social process is the fact in which . . . [persons] on the one hand, become more distinguishable from each other; while the same . . . [persons] on the other hand, get their distinctive . . . [differentiation] by becoming more intimately merged into each other. [Integration] . . . is accordingly, not in opposition to . . . [differentiation] except in words. It is the condition and the means of . . . [differentiation] and *vice versa*.¹⁷

TRANSLATING this into terms relevant to our discussion, we may say that the sacred stranger acquires all the norms that integrate him into the accessible secular society when and if he makes personality adjustments that are sufficiently specialised to constitute him a differentiated component in the metropolitan functional unity. Even if all these norms are acquired, however, the resulting functional integration does not involve so large a proportion of the total personality as does membership in the much simpler structure of the isolated sacred society; in the accessible secular society the correlation between differentiation and *integration in the sense of absorption of a major proportion of the capacities of the human organism* is by no means perfect nor even high, and if Small had intended to assert that a high correlation existed, he would have been in error. The correlation is low *in the above sense of integration*.

THIS low correlation is first of all due to the fact that from the very nature of the accessible secular society there is no one central ideal, doctrine, or plurality-pattern in terms of which all character-attitudes are organised, as is the case in an isolated sacred society. Again, in spite of the vast increase in rate of population movement and communication in the modern world, there is not yet a background of experience common to and known as common by all persons; such a background is absolutely necessary for the development of social meanings (upon which primary character-attitudes are based). Indeed, no universally valid social meanings can arise until there is a completely unified and integrally harmonious world-society upon a completely secular foundation—something that does not seem, to say the least, an immediate probability or even possibility. The writer would even assert that only when some one set of culture patterns is completely dominant can there be complete integration; it may be that the present tremendous acceleration of population movement and communication will eventually bring this about, but this is mere speculation. Certainly no one culture-pattern is universally accepted at present, and the future dominance of Western culture is not assured—there may be a discernible trend toward such dominance, but that is

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 590-91, italics ours.

the most that can be said. In other words, extreme individuation of the sacred stranger ensues if the major character-attitudes deriving from the isolated sacred society break down, for even if all the available norms of the accessible secular society are acquired, those norms do not yet offer (and indeed may never offer) the possibility of functional integration far-reaching enough to absorb any considerable proportion of the capacities of even relatively simple personalities.

OTHER reasons for this low correlation between differentiation and integration may be adduced. One of them is that integration within an organic whole at present takes place only on the level of the division of labour; a very small segment of the activity of the human being is geared into the functioning of the accessible secular society, for differentiation has progressed so far that men are integrated only in their economic capacities. Another is that the present secular world is *of necessity* extremely complex, so that one specialised activity requires a large share of the human being's total energy if mastery is to be achieved. Differentiation *is* specialisation, and specialisation within a complex division of labour *is* integration, but integration which necessarily is narrowly limited. The rôle played may be important, but one single rôle out of a total of thousands or more cannot constitute a social personality of the vast scope required for *complete* integration within the accessible secular society. Here again it is evident that the sacred stranger, if solely dependent upon the norms of his new environment, does not regain the unified personality that once was his.

STILL other reasons for the low correlation already mentioned lie in the nature of the temperamental attitudes. A perfect correlation between differentiation and integration involves a complete sublimation of the temperamental attitudes; they must be completely expressed in the character-attitudes and the life-organisation. This is probably quite impossible in the accessible secular society. To begin with, only a few of the temperamental attitudes can be realised in such a narrow segment of life as finds a place within differentiated secular activity. Again, character-attitudes, being a product of social definition, can develop from temperamental attitudes only when the character-attitudes are definitely incorporated in the life of the social group. The nature of the secular society precludes this, for being subject to influx and constant change as it is, there are few stable and ready-made definitions of situations, and few fixed patterns for life-organisation. In addition, there exists at present no group technique for developing character-attitudes on the basis of experimentation and recognition of change as of the essence of secular life. It may very well be that stable character-attitudes cannot be so developed, but certain it is that short of a continuance of influence deriving from the isolated sacred society,

no other alternative seems worth trying or even possible. Once more, the temperamental attitudes are stimulated so intensely by the continual presentation of new sensual values—"vanity-values," aphrodisiac values, and so on—that the character-attitudes of the sacred stranger, only imperfectly organised for sublimation and more often than not crudely repressive, break down under the demoralising thrust of the new values. He may succeed, however, in retaining enough grip on his life-organisation to continue his differentiated function, and when he does, he presents the curious phenomenon of being differentiated and controlled in one small segment of his personality, while at the same time he is extremely individuated, i.e., demoralised, in all the rest.

ONCE more we see that the extreme individuation of the sacred stranger cannot be prevented when the central character-attitudes deriving from the isolated sacred community are destroyed with relative completeness, even though there has been a high degree of success in assimilating the norms of the accessible secular society; *the man who is merely differentiated is a demoralised man.*

FROM this it would seem that all sacred-to-secular dispersion inevitably involves extreme individuation, whereas this manifestly is not the case when concrete instances of such dispersion are examined. The discrepancy arises from the fact that on the one hand the accessible secular society as an ideal type has been considered, while on the other an empirical society, predominantly secular, *but with a large proportion of indices of the isolated sacred society*, is being examined. When dispersed sacred strangers in whom the positive factors accelerating secularisation greatly overbalance the negative or retarding factors do not exhibit extreme individuation, the reason is usually to be found in the fact that, over and above the norms of the empirical accessible secular society, *attitudes deriving from empirical isolated sacred societies of the secondary culture area have been acquired.* Symbiotic relationships have been supplemented by intimate personal relationships, social distance has decreased, compathy, empathy, and sympathy have brought about emotional interaction that facilitates the further intensification of relationships of approach. In this way extreme individuation (demoralisation) is prevented, while at the same time the releasing or energising effect of individuation is often evident in considerable degree; the personality of the sacred stranger is reorganised on a more complex level, and what must be regarded as a successful adjustment, i.e., one that meets the crisis arising from dispersion adequately, has been made.

REFERENCE will again be made to this transformation of the sacred stranger into what may be termed the liberated human being (no value-judgment implied!), but it now seems advisable to neglect

temporarily the qualifications he introduces, and consider further the interplay of the processes which in their double aspects may be designated secularisation-demoralisation and differentiation-integration.

15.

IN addition to the demoralised man already noted, there is another type which may be called the amoral man. Some of the most interesting cases of human beings in an advanced stage of individuation are offered by the amoral second or even third generation of dispersed sacred strangers, persons brought to the accessible secular society at a very early age or born there. They might be called amoral products of "vicarious dispersion." A great deal has been written on this subject, especially with relation to the children of recent immigrants to the United States, and little if anything that is empirically new can be said here. Much of the ideal-typical discussion applies to such cases, especially the references to the amoral individual, the human being who, never having acquired any character-attitudes adequate to any situation, new or old, is *wild*. The "wild boys" of the post-war years in Russia, many of the youthful Chicago gangsters studied by Thrasher, "the case of Abraham Bernstein,"¹⁸ and several of the Judge Baker Foundation case studies¹⁹ afford examples of this particular product of secularisation-demoralisation, the amoral man.

16.

WHEN less extreme cases are considered, however, even more interesting products of secularisation-individuation and differentiation-integration are revealed. The marginal man, referred to by Park in connection with the Diaspora, may also be found in connection with contemporary dispersion, especially with that of the sacred stranger. For present purposes we may define the marginal man as a human being controlled in part by character-attitudes deriving from an isolated sacred society, and in part differentiated and individuated by the influence of an accessible secular society, but not assimilated to those portions of that society (empirically speaking) in which attitudes deriving from isolated sacred societies prevail. In other words, he is at home nowhere; he *belongs*, in the full sense, neither to the primary nor the secondary culture.

SOME of the possible characteristics of such a marginal man may be noted; they are of appreciable importance. One of those most frequently manifest is continuance of the state of crisis because a satisfactory adjustment has not been found; he is in a condition of

¹⁸D. E. Cross, A BEHAVIOUR STUDY OF ABRAHAM BERNSTEIN, Department of Public Welfare, City of Chicago, pamphlet, 1924; as well as a more revealing study (unpublished manuscript), Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

¹⁹Case studies Nos. 6, 7, 10, Series 1, Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, 1922-23.

heightened self-consciousness that frequently leads to aggressive self-assertion if his temperamental attitudes so incline him. If he is not so inclined, but has creative ability, he may make a fairly adequate or even successful adjustment by activity in the field of personal expression; for example, many great poets, such as Heine, Shelley, Poe, and Dante, have been in one way or another marginal men, although not always as a result of sacred strangeness. Some conflict within the personality, however, was at work, and this is of the essence of the marginal man. Again, the marginal man may make a partial, inadequate adjustment of the conflict by reorganising his personality on a less consciously complex level, e.g., he may develop marked introversion, build a fantasy world of day-dreams, and perhaps eventually become so fixated in such tendencies that he becomes a neuropath or psychopath. When this extreme result does not ensue, however, he may become a fixated personality type to whom eventual assimilation would be impossible even if external barriers were removed; he is then a fixated marginal man.

SUCH persons often play a large part in accelerating social change because of their compensatory activity in advocating and instituting changes in the mores; the mental mobility, the secularising tendency, of the fixated marginal man is, as it were, a permanent adjustment. There is not only inability to resist the new, but aggressive activity in furthering the new. This is frequently exemplified in the advocacy of changes in the political or economic order by fixated marginal men; the changes advocated may sometimes be "revisionist," but they are more frequently "catastrophic." Catastrophic change is also advocated, or rather expected, in the eschatological and apocalyptic sects and cults of which such marginal men, both historically and in contemporary times, are often leaders. Such advocacy of political, economic, and religious change (in the form of rapid mutation) by marginal men has often been responsible for the acceleration of existing tendencies toward social change, and has even played a part in initiating such tendencies. Numerous instances come to mind: Marx, Kropotkin, Tolstoi, the sectarian wayfarers so active before the Reformation, Robert Emmett, Wolf Tone, Lenin, Marat, and many more. Further, insofar as criticism of existing conditions tends to bring about slow alteration, marginal men have taken a leading part, for they are likely to be vigorous and unsparing critics both of in-groups and out-groups. Numerous biographical and autobiographical documents tend to bear out these generalisations; those of Heinrich Heine²⁰ and Ludwig Lewisohn²¹ are recent examples.

²⁰Lewis Browne, with the collaboration of Elsa Wehl, *THAT MAN HEINE* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

²¹Nearly all the works of Lewisohn are autobiographical or pseudo-autobiographical, and they all show distinctly marginal characteristics. *UPSTREAM*, *THE CREATIVE LIFE*, and *THE ISLAND WITHIN* are among the number.

17.

ANOTHER type of human being arising from the interaction of secularisation-individuation and differentiation-integration may be termed the segmental man, i.e., the man whose temperamental attitudes are so inadequately expressed in the highly differentiated metropolitan economy that he develops habits of dissipating the resulting tension and unrest by activities that almost exclusively involve segmental drives. These activities are usually surreptitious surrogates for the activities by which energy is consumed with the full approval of the isolated sacred society; they are segmental because they cannot be brought into harmony with either the character-attitudes deriving from that community nor the norms (so largely concerned with differentiated efficiency) of the accessible secular society.

SOME of these surrogate activities of the segmental man have been noted by Park, Burgess, Anderson, Zorbaugh, Shonle, Donovan, Mowrer, Sorokin and others, but the term segmental was first applied to them by Kempf.

ONE such surrogate activity may be termed passive adventure; examples of this are: reading about sports, big game hunting, war; "spectatoritis" and being a "fan"; gambling on sporting events by means of baseball pools or "office pari mutuels"; "playing the market on a shoe-string" and similar speculation; getting "thrills" via "human flies," moving pictures, novels, and detective stories. Another type of "surrogation" is bound up with the sex urge; instance are found in: "T.B.M." musical comedies and "burlesk"; "taxi dancing"; the libidinous French postcard, novel, short story, "unexpurgated edition," "confession" magazine, "Captain Billy's Whiz-Bang," "Art Lover's Magazine," and all the *erotica* that the little "arty" bookshops disseminate; masturbation, some kinds of homosexuality, prostitution; and so on.

STILL another sort of surrogation is the vaguely expressive behaviour manifest in such instances as: revivalism of various forms; devotion to cults and sects that have no goal beyond that of giving "peace," "health" or "inspiration" to their members; aimless, restless movement such as rapid change of residence and "going for a ride just to be going"²²; petty crime, useless shop-lifting; and many other surreptitious or overt surrogate activities practised by the segmental man.

18.

WE have now considered the demoralised man, the amoral man, the marginal man, and the segmental man, all of them products of the

²²Such movement is frequently labeled "geographical mobility" or "territorial mobility," and is supposed to "cause" various phenomena which would here be termed individuation, whereas on the contrary such movement is more often a consequent than an antecedent of individuation, and should never be termed "mobility."

process of differentiation-integration within the ideal-typical accessible secular society. Obviously none of these four types is found in unmixed form in real life; indeed, each one of them involves some aspect of the others. Further, the fact must again be recalled that all *empirical* societies, however accessible and however secular, are *composite*, i.e., they always have within them a large proportion of indices of the isolated sacred community, as the discussion of the liberated man has already made plain. If it were not for the composite nature of such societies, the liberated man would be an impossibility, for he is, per definition, a dispersed sacred stranger who reshapes or builds up central character-attitudes and life-organisation in such a way that all his attitudes, temperamental and otherwise, find adequate expression; in other words, he *reorganises*. As we have seen, this cannot be done when relationships are merely symbiotic, as they would be were the ideal-typical accessible secular society ever a reality.

BUT this is impossible, and moreover, we know that the sacred stranger sometimes does change into the liberated man, whose characteristics clearly distinguish him from the four types previously discussed. For one thing, he often develops a personality of greater originality and energy; the work of Teggart, Francke and others has gone a long way toward verifying the hypothesis that release, the freeing of latent or potential energies, is correlated with individuation, and that such release is an indispensable adjunct of creative innovation in the form of rapid mutation.²³

ANOTHER characteristic of the liberated man is that the flood of energy resulting from release is at least partially held within the channels of a life-organisation adapted to the differentiated efficiency necessary for achievement in and according to the norms of the accessible secular society. From this it follows that the liberated man, unlike the marginal man, is more or less reconciled to that society; the marginal man either withdraws from a social reality too much in conflict with his central character-attitudes, or else attempts to "shatter it to bits—and then Remould it nearer to the Heart's desire!" whereas the liberated man

²³It is of course possible to be creative in another way, i.e., in the slow alteration of established forms; rarely, however, does such alteration accomplish more than the relatively complete exhaustion of all the possibilities of those forms. For example, the great geniuses who contributed to the development of thirteenth-century Catholicism were not, on the whole, marginal or liberated men, but they brought the established forms of that faith—forms of theology, philosophy, ritual, architecture, and social policy—... a pitch of perfection, of architectonic harmony, of systematic co-ordination, that must be called creative. The possibilities inherent in the premises of Catholicism were exhausted in the process, however, and no genuinely creative activity was thereafter possible that did not in some way contravene the work already done. No value-judgment is here implied; it may be that the rounded exhaustive development of cultural forms as a result of slow alteration is better than the introduction of new forms as a result of rapid mutation—or it may be that it is worse! No brief is held either for rapid innovation or for slow development in harmony with tradition—*sub specie aeternitatis*, as they must be viewed by the sociologist, no preference is possible.

is likely to shape his life-organisation so as to use the existing facilities of the accessible secular society to the full, or at most to propose only modification. The marginal man is inclined to be idealistic, the liberated man to be realistic; the life-organisations of both reflect this difference in their central character-attitudes.

THE fact that the liberated man is able to maintain such a life-organisation is due to several influences that appear in various combinations: (1) a central core of character-attitudes deriving from the isolated sacred community of the primary culture area has usually resisted the over-rapid secularising processes so frequently following dispersion because negative or retarding factors have made such resistance possible; (2) new character-attitudes not too greatly in conflict with remnants of the old may be acquired as a result of influences deriving from isolated sacred societies within the *composite* secondary culture area, i.e., the *empirical* accessible secular society, and these character-attitudes then counteract demoralising, amoralising, marginal, and segmental tendencies, and bring about reorganisation of the sacred stranger's personality; (3) new secondary character-attitudes closely correlated with the new life-organisation arise on the basis of what may be called vocational interest; these attitudes are inculcated by regulative associations, such as real estate boards, trade unions, and business men's and women's clubs.

WHEN modified or new character-attitudes are acquired as a result of any or all of the influences just noted, they usually make possible to the erstwhile sacred stranger a conception of his rôle within the accessible secular society that is in accordance with the surviving remnant of attitudes deriving from the isolated sacred society, which conception therefore functions as an additional stabilising force. Indeed, such thoroughgoing stabilisation may result that innovating and creative tendencies, often released in the sacred stranger by dispersion, may be suppressed in the interests of differentiated efficiency or conformity to the new norms. He becomes so thoroughly reorganised that he neither continues to manifest the energies of release nor functions as an intrusive factor in releasing the energies of others in the secondary culture area. When this occurs (and it occurs with surprising frequency) the liberation of the sacred stranger has been only temporary; "liberated man" then becomes a misnomer, and "regulated man" or some similar term should be used instead. A new and virtually static equilibrium has been reached that eventually requires an external intrusive factor to reinduce mental mobility and its attendant secularisation.

IN a number of cases, however, a balance between liberation and reorganisation is struck, the new equilibrium attained is dynamic, and the liberated man remains liberated; considered as ideal types such

persons have therefore acquired a flexibility and adaptability of schematisms for controlling social reality combined with stability of character-attitudes and personality. In other words, they have become mentally mobile or secularised without becoming permanently disorganised; they have met the crisis of dispersion by personality reorganisation on a more complex level; they have become adequately functioning members of the accessible secular society, but have retained the essential central character-attitudes deriving from the isolated sacred society. It must be said, however, that in the present period such liberated persons (insofar as they approach the ideal-typical in their lack of internal conflict) are not as a rule likely to be great creative geniuses in the field of personal expression, for in this field, which is that of poetry, music, drama, and the fine arts in general, art that is judged great (by most present-day critics) is usually the product of inner conflict.

THE marginal man or even the segmental man is therefore more likely to achieve artistically, in the accessible secular society of modern times at least, than is the liberated man. The latter, on the other hand, is better fitted to undergo the exacting discipline of scientific endeavour, or even to be a "man of action" in that society, than is the marginal man or any of the other types. The reason for this seems to be that such pursuits demand personalities that are considerably secularised, that are mentally mobile, but that are not so extremely mobile in their emotional aspects as are the personalities more adapted to the directly expressive arts. The liberated man is in a state of moving equilibrium on a combined sacred-secular basis; the other types have not effected the reconciliation between sacred and secular—a reconciliation which is difficult, at present largely dependent upon chance, and always hard to maintain. There is at present no planned production of liberated men, which is not at all surprising, for there is little real knowledge of how to produce them and little demand for their production. It should once more be noted that they are never found empirically in the "pure" form; the liberated man always has some characteristics also found in the other types. Here again distinction must be made between the ideal-typical and the empirical.

19.

A GREAT deal of attention has now been paid to the phenomenon of sacred-to-secular dispersion, which is only one variety of dispersion, while dispersion is in turn only one variety of population movement. Nevertheless, the writer feels that the attention has been warranted, for it has done something to show how the processes correlated with sacred-to-secular dispersion follow the same sequence in bringing about change in the dispersing persons as that followed by those same

processes in bringing about the transition from the isolated sacred community to the accessible secular society. Dispersion has afforded a recapitulative illustration of the general process whereby isolation is broken down and sacred inhibitions are destroyed. A careful consideration of the foregoing analysis will reveal a general cycle of equilibrium \longrightarrow intrusive factor \longrightarrow tension \longrightarrow unrest \longrightarrow crisis \longrightarrow unsuccessful or successful adjustment \longrightarrow lessening or increase of tension and unrest \longrightarrow personality reorganisation on a more complex level or personality regression to a simpler level \longrightarrow new equilibrium. By following through these stages, the discussion of sacred-to-secular dispersion will be summarised, and at the same time a condensed analogical outline of the processes that change the isolated sacred society to the accessible secular society will be given.

FIRST, the *equilibrium* of the isolated sacred society is maintained by defining in social terms the vague organic impulses of its accruing members. Second, this equilibrium is disturbed when *intrusive factors*, i.e., external influences, disorganise that community by rendering its adaptive adjustments inadequate for the satisfaction of the impulses it has defined in its members. Third, because these impulses are consequently blocked or thwarted in one way or another, *tension and unrest* develop among those members of the community who are most affected. Fourth, this tension and unrest may lead to various attempts at relief; population movement is often the general form chosen, and if a pattern of and/or unusual facilities for dispersion exist, dispersion (movement of individuals) may be the specific form chosen, and when this dispersion is sacred-to-secular, and when the factors furthering secularisation over-balance the retarding factors, *crisis* results. Fifth, this crisis, while unresolved, generates still more unrest and tension, and some crisis-resolving adjustment becomes imperative; the sacred stranger accordingly makes an attempt at an adjustment, which may be successful or unsuccessful. Sixth, the degree of success or failure can be determined only when the ensuing processes of secularisation-individuation and differentiation-integration have brought about *personality reorganisation that increases or lessens tension and unrest*. If these indices of maladjustment increase, the adjustment is per definition unsuccessful; if they lessen, it has been successful. For our purposes, no other criterion applies. Seventh, personality change that increases tension and unrest is usually the result of *regression to a simpler level*; personality change that lessens tension and unrest is usually *reorganisation on a more complex level*. Ideal-typical personality changes resulting from regression are: demoralisation, marginalisation, segmentation; those resulting from reorganisation are: liberation, regulation. Eighth, when the reorganisation is regulative in nature, the ensuing *equilibrium* is static; when the reorganisation is liberative, the ensuing equilibrium is dynamic.

THE above schematic and abstract analysis of the changes issuing from population movement (when population movement produces any change whatever) may be considered ideal-typically valid, but the greatest caution must be exercised in applying it to cases which have not been studied in concrete fulness of historical detail, for the danger of neglecting configuration in favour of schematism is always present. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that a similar analysis of secular-to-sacred, sacred-to-sacred, and secular-to-secular dispersion, although it could be cast in similar terms of the above abstract cycle, would result in many differences of emphasis; only in the most formal sense does the cycle hold good! As a formal, ideal-typical construct it is nevertheless a useful heuristic device, to be used for what it is worth and cast aside when it does not apply. With these qualifications, however, the writer ventures to assert that it will be found to apply in a high percentage of cases—high enough to make it a virtually indispensable tool.

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN AFRICA : by K. S. Watt, B.A.

THIS paper attempts to give a brief account of some of the problems which have arisen in modern Tropical Africa as a result of its occupation by Great Britain, and further to consider the very real contribution which Practical Anthropology can make towards their solution. It is of great importance at the present time that the issues which are at stake should be clearly envisaged by the people of this country, and more especially by settlers and others to whom the questions are of an even more pressing nature. The recent Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa has reported its strong approval of the arrangements which the Colonial Office has made "for cadets selected for the administrative service in Tropical Africa to receive instruction in Anthropology before taking up their duties," and it lays great emphasis on the necessity for a wider dissemination of this knowledge in the hope that the Imperial Government will be able to associate more closely with those who have identified their interests with the prosperity of the country. Let us examine, therefore, some of the features of our occupation of Tropical Africa, and the ways in which a knowledge of Anthropology will facilitate both its moral and its commercial development.

GREAT Britain has become committed, by the facts of history and by official promises, to an occupation of certain parts of Tropical Africa,—an occupation caused originally as much by an awakening of the missionary spirit in the middle of the last century as by considerations of a strategical or a commercial nature. The latter motive has since been made the more urgent by the realisation that the products of the country are becoming essential for the needs of civilisation. Population in Europe has increased rapidly, and larger demands are being made for food, raw materials and markets. On the other hand, the missionary interest has now developed into a principle of trusteeship for the bettering and advancement of the native peoples. This double duty of making available the resources of the country and of promoting native interests has now been tacitly accepted by all those Western Powers who own territory in Africa, and is known under the name of the Dual Mandate. Its two aspects may be regarded as complementary and interdependent, and its slogan is "equality of opportunity for all races."

THE working of the system is apt to be fraught with much difficulty, for it is obviously a compromise, albeit the best one, as we believe, that circumstances will permit. The tendency to regard economic interests as incompatible with those more immaterial considerations whose object, in the words of the League of Nations Covenant, is to make the natives "able to stand by themselves under the strenuous

conditions of the modern world," is a natural one, but it should only serve to remind all concerned of the patience and tact required. Perhaps the task is not made any the easier by the vagueness of its terminology. That the "well-being and development" of the population should "form a sacred trust of civilisation" (again quoting from the League of Nations Covenant), and that the interests of the natives should be "paramount" possess any more than a negative value is often doubted by hard-headed settlers who, if they pay any attention at all to native welfare, do so as a secondary matter entirely subordinate to their own interests and to the real intentions of the Government. But the latter is rightly most emphatic not only in maintaining a policy of "well-being and development" and "protection and advancement," but of enlarging it, as it has done in the Report of the East Africa Commission, 1925, even to "moral advancement." This represents a wonderful progress from the time when the exploitation of the African in the form of slavery was the dominant purpose of this country. But there is much yet to be done. It is true that direct enslavement and many lesser abuses are ruled out, but there are many who deny the advisability,—either on moral or on economic grounds,—of attempting to meddle with the African. There are those who hold that the native can better be served by making him work for the Whites than for himself, and that as the African is unused to the handling of finance, all training other than that which would be gained in the service of Europeans should be withheld. Similarly the Government's ideal of self-government for the native races is scoffed at. In all these matters the long view is by far the most difficult one to adhere to, but it must be continually kept in mind in order that these criticisms, prompted as they are by the stress of temporary conditions, may not do irreparable harm to our ideals.

It would be interesting to speculate for a moment on what would be the natural outcome if these criticisms were carried to their logical conclusion. They demand, first and foremost, a very much increased settlement of Whites in Africa since, with no native policy, more and more Whites would be needed to develop the country. Such an event would be quite legitimate,—for the Dual Mandate says nothing about the extent to which White settlement should go,—but would it be desirable? The most important consideration is that of health. The experiment of living in Tropical Africa has only been indulged in by Europeans during the last fifty years or so, and we cannot at present make any far-reaching prophecies as to whether they will be able to live there in comfort and reproduce their kind in large numbers. This being the case, it would be unwise, to say the least of it, to promote any extensive and systematic emigration of Europeans:—the possibility of a "poor White," degraded, population is one which must be avoided, if possible, at all costs. Further, the analogy of the New

World, after the abolition of slavery, throws considerable doubt on whether the resources of Africa would be any better exploited by Europeans than by natives: the climatic conditions obtaining are similar to those on the other side of the Atlantic, and since the possibility is for ever banished of repeating the experiment of the large American plantation with its slave labour and White owners, it seems highly probable that any extensive White settlement would be an all-round failure. The cause would be largely climatic, but there is also a psychological aspect. Whenever a superior race is brought face to face with a so-called inferior one, it is very difficult to get rid of the idea of manual toil being ignominious. The case of Queensland, where the climate is almost as tropical as in Central Africa, clearly shows that white men can work in torrid regions and produce larger crops than "black" men, provided the workers are protected from disease and from the competition of people with lower standards of life. But in Africa, such measures would be impossible, for the numbers of the natives ensure their being employed by the Whites. The Dual Mandate will have to be carried out in *both* its aspects if the detribalisation and unenlightened White exploitation of, say, Southern Rhodesia, is to be avoided in the future.

AGAIN, even if a large White population were to find it possible to live in Tropical Africa, it cannot be supposed that they would mix willingly with the natives: pride of blood is highly characteristic of both races. Any policy of absorption by miscegenation would be a practical impossibility; the present half-breed population in South Africa is regarded with as much natural aversion by the natives as by the white men. Even if some comprehensive policy of moderate segregation was pursued, the Whites would compete with the natives in those very arts and manufactures which they have been taught with so much trouble, and there is no question who would win.

It is time, too, that the notion of the African's incurable idleness was abandoned. In his natural state he does *not* leave it all to his women. The impression has arisen by reason of the very considerable demands which civilisation is making on his labour, especially when it is remembered that his wants are simple, and that prior to the advent of Europeans he knew nothing of earning wages or of leaving home to seek employment. Without entering into the question of the different means of securing native labour, it should be noted that while wage earners are required,—perhaps unfortunately,—for the eventual benefit of the lot of the African, in rail and road construction and for the cultivation of certain kinds of crops which can only be grown on estates owned and managed by Europeans, yet the native holder is perfectly capable of working by himself if properly trained. He will be adopting a higher status, which will contribute to his economic,

social and moral advancement. As a matter of fact, it is unlikely that any large scale emigration will take place to Africa. Other colonies are not as yet asking for more men than would be sufficient to direct industries, and they are for the most part more favoured than Africa.

THE whole question of any extensive White settlement must be postponed. In any case, the evidence on which we seek to prophesy the future relations between the two races is largely inferential and based on analogies. However numerous the Whites may become at any time, it remains the task of the British Government to make the native interests "paramount,"—that is, that White settlement should be subordinate to native development and native production. In the early colonial days, the idea would have been ridiculed as mere sentimental humanitarianism, but conflicts between missionaries and settlers do not now form the chief feature of colonial history, because in the last forty or fifty years it has been proved that the missionaries were very largely right in their estimation of native character and capabilities. The educated Africans have increased enormously in numbers, and constitute a separate problem in themselves, which will be dealt with later. The negro is essentially primitive and childlike, unlike the degenerate Australians, and once he has been freed from the necessary accompaniments of primitive superstition,—sorcery, extortion and inhuman cruelties,—he is perfectly ready to assimilate what is new and to see the good in it. It is by no means true to say that culture is compatible with physical heredity.

TO-DAY, too, the Government's policy should have the support of material facts as well, for the natives are not being well treated in order that they may inherit Africa by *themselves* necessarily, but to enable them to stand by themselves as part of the entire community of the territory. There is no prospect of allowing them to drive out the Whites altogether, but even if there was, we should still be able to reap the benefit of our benevolent policy, for we should have trained the African to make the fullest use of the resources of his country,—resources which, in the future, will probably be far better exploited by him than by the European.

THE framing of Government policy with regard to this opening-up of Africa is a very difficult matter, and must obviously leave considerable scope for the exercise of individual initiative in different circumstances. On the one hand we have noted the view of the situation which ignores, so far as is possible, native Customs and ways of thought : on the other hand, the danger of paying too much deference to old tribal traditions must be equally well guarded against. The advent of Europeans has, of course, had a decidedly disturbing effect, but through lack of policy in the past, and ignorance of policy in recent times, it has had a far more harmful effect than is necessary on the life

and capabilities of the vast majority of Africans. No matter how well intentioned individual Europeans may have been, mistakes are bound to be made. This change, then, together with the commercial development of Africa and the solemn pledge we are under to promote the well-being of the African, are the three factors which the Government has to take into account in framing a policy for the country. As will be seen, it offers two positive contributions to the problem, that of Indirect Rule, and that of Education, in both of which a knowledge and application of racial and social Anthropology in their widest senses is an essential condition of efficiency and success.

BROADLY speaking, Anthropology embraces a complete study of man's development in all its aspects. In its applied form it involves a working knowledge of native law and Custom on the one hand, and a full appreciation of native psychology on the other. Without this thorough understanding of the native mind and of the intricacies of tribal life, it is impossible to achieve a real contact between ruler and ruled, and mutual misunderstandings and suspicions can be the only result. Both the general policy of the Government and the daily actions of the Administrative Officer are alike dependent on a clear knowledge of native systems and ways of thought. It is admittedly difficult for civilised man to understand the uncivilised, but although their ways of thinking appear to be so mutually opposed it is not because their minds work differently. The thinking power of the White man does not differ in kind, but in degree, from that of the black. M. Levy-Bruhl has stamped the primitive mind as "pre-logical," but so far from lacking reasoning powers, primitive logic is notoriously severe and exact in its applications: their belief in survival in the spirit world after death is so unquestioning that men and women will be buried alive with a dead chief that they may accompany him thither.

It is perhaps easy to take a surface view of the matter, and by arguing from the past to infer, *a priori*, that modern Africans are incapable of reaching a high plane of civilisation. The idea of racial inferiority is evolved in a hundred different ways. Yet when we take into account the lack of opportunities which Africa has had, we are forced to the conclusion that its people have not fared so badly, and that they have shown remarkable resilience in overcoming all the difficulties of their environment. Disease and slavery have wrought havoc in their ranks, but the negro stock appears to be remarkably virile. Perhaps the chief reason in preventing the evolution of the Africans has been the lack of stimulus from outside. Civilisation,—to use the phraseology of Anthropologists,—is essentially a product of diffusion: it is "a plant much oftener propagated than developed." Its evolution, therefore, has been a precarious affair. The people of Asia seem to have possessed the necessary spark owing, perhaps, to the stimulus of a

bare environment, while the Africans and others have not; and further, until the advent of Europeans, the vast African continent had hardly been effected by any civilising stimulus from outside, with the exception of Mohammedan influence. This in itself is sufficient to account for the position in which Africans were found by Europeans. And there is the further fact that the fears and superstitions which have always been so prevalent in Africa have very adversely affected the life of its people. We are in no position to determine the limits of a people's adaptability to civilising progress by their past history. The African's best qualities must be known and made the greatest use of at this time when, owing to the stimulus derived from the sudden safety of life and the development of the country under European guidance, the state of affairs is largely playing into our hands. The methods of this development are largely as follows.

A SIMPLE statement of the Government's policy would be to say that it aspires to let the Africans rule themselves through their chiefs by the system known as Indirect Rule as opposed, for example, to the old German colonial policy of Direct Rule. It is a system which takes into account the great changes which have come over the country since European settlement, and at the same time it makes allowance for the extremely backward state of the great majority of Africans, and the necessity for a slow transition to the Government's ideal of self-government for the native races. It realises that the checking of the worst abuses in the old native life has been in itself a revolutionary change; it therefore aims at grafting our higher civilisation on to the firmly rooted native stock, bringing out what is best in the native tradition and at the same time procuring the spirit of the people on our side. It encourages the chiefs to go in for all the modern reforms such as the development of education and the improvement of sanitation and public health. Progress of necessity must be slow, and it is for this reason chiefly that the system is criticised: even officials of long experience have believed that it makes for stagnation, and frankly advocate the system of Direct Rule. At first sight, indeed, it might appear more in accordance with our professed duties as trustees to bestow upon the Africans *all* our culture which in our more conceited moments we may consider to be the best in the world. But we are not trying to develop what, by reason of their totally different character, must only turn out to be second grade Europeans; the production of first class Africans is the objective, and for this, Indirect Rule is eminently suited with its conviction that every system of government must be founded on the framework of the indigenous society. The people will be able to keep their self-respect, and perhaps ultimately give much that is of real value to the world. In short, we must respect the African's manhood. While perhaps it would be unwise to go as far as to say, with the most ardent pro-Africans, that there is no question of essential

superiority or inferiority between the two races, we can at least rest assured in the knowledge that the differences are cultural and temperamental rather than organic, and that the civilising of the African races will result in great moral and economic benefits to the rest of the world.

OBVIOUSLY the extent to which Indirect Rule can be applied, and the degree of success obtainable will depend, in any given instance, on the character of the pre-existing native government. In Africa we have every variety of government from the strongly organised chiefs of Northern Nigeria or East Central Africa to places where headmen rule over very small village communities. This variety, as may be supposed, is the result of racial differences. The present population is due to a series of immigrations from Asia dating from the earliest times, which have pressed the true negro across the Southern Sudan to the West Coast. The Mohammedan invaders in West Africa, with their monotheistic religion, their traditions of rule, and their higher intelligence, have been responsible for the formation of the modern emirates there, while the Bantu group of peoples in East, South-East and Central Africa are negroes with varying admixtures of "Hamitic" blood. "Hamite" is a linguistic term and denotes, roughly speaking, the Western Asiatic peoples of Mediterranean race: they are lighter skinned and considerably more advanced than the pure negro. In East and Central Africa they represent a much stronger element in the population, and have established themselves as the ruling stock in the notable African kingdoms of Uganda, Ruanda and the Congo. With the more primitive Bushmen, Hottentots and Pygmies, the British administration is not concerned, but it has a sufficient quantity of the very primitive element under its charge to make the problem of government an extraordinarily difficult one. In those cases where the native government was already highly organised under strong chiefs, the foundations were already laid, and treaties were drawn up embodying definite recognition of the existing constitutional structure. A check has been imposed on the more powerful chiefs, and those less powerful have to be supported,—albeit behind the scenes,—by the Government. Yet the traditions and the framework of the kingdoms are such that they are ready, for the most part, to take advantage of the chance of increased prosperity which has been laid at their door: nor, in spite of unavoidable restriction on their former outlets for passions, have they suffered unduly from their contact with Europeans. Of the Fulani, for example,—Mohammedan conquerors of Northern Nigeria,—it was openly doubted at the inauguration of the present government régime whether they would ever conform to the new requirements demanded of them. It was supposed that they might indeed be forced to forego their former misrule, but that being an alien race of conquerors, hatred of their British overlords

would always remain with them. These doubts have been signally reversed, and the Fulani now form an invaluable link between the British staff and the native peasantry.

WITH less highly developed races, the idea of chieftainship and ordered government has to be inculcated before any advance can be made. When this has been done, small tribes are combined into a "native authority." In these cases, the people must be accustomed to the paying of tribute to a chief, after which regular hut and income taxes may be levied. Everything is done through the chiefs: even the Fulani realise that they could do nothing by dealing directly with the pagan peasantry over whom they are allowed to rule. Education is encouraged: already in Nigeria the native administrations bear a large share in the cost of the schools. There is also an increasing interest in the establishment of dispensaries, sanitation and leper settlements, and in afforestation. The people have security of tenure and freedom from oppression, and they rest secure in the knowledge that even emirs and chiefs have been deposed in the past for misrule. Without going any further at the moment, let us consider what an indispensable part Anthropology has played in this development.

IF we take those people who are lowest in the scale of progress, we find ourselves at the level of the "unconsolidated" village group under a headman, who is only really the head of an extended family. Several of these may combine into a village, but individual families will always be breaking away and forming independent communities. The work of the Government is to combine them all into one village of a larger and more consolidated nature,—a performance which would not previously have been indulged in unless under the stress of a common danger. Each family head, however, is still, so far as is possible, held responsible for the public behaviour of the members of his household. Great tact is required in the election of a new village chief, for the civil headman is so often the religious head as well, and by reason of his latter capacity may not necessarily possess the greatest administrative ability. Anthropology shows that there are precedents for the separation of these two offices, and the Government accordingly has to take advantage of these when necessary.

COMMUNITIES a little more advanced are the "consolidated" groups, which may have been brought together by a sense of kinship or by the possession of a common religious cult, or they may be amalgamations of sections of different local groups, or even of different tribes, for war purposes. It is interesting to note that these amalgamations can take place, but it must not be supposed that any wholesale policy of grouping could be indulged in by the Government for administrative purposes. Complications will inevitably arise, not the least formidable being difficulties with regard to marriage regulations between clans.

THE next step is to promote the growth of the native councils. In the former, unconsolidated, stage, the heads of families played an important part in the discussion of all affairs which might be given a political nature. In the latter stage, justice is administered locally for the most part, although the king's court is held as a court of appeal. It is the Government's policy to endow these councils with increasing financial, judicial, and executive functions. It is only by the management of their own affairs that the meaning of responsibility can be learned by the natives. So far, the councils can only be given a small part in the political control of their native authorities, but the policy of devolution of responsibilities must be adhered to if for no other reason than that it is impossible to provide a sufficient number of British administrative officials to conduct the business of the whole country. The District Officers are often overworked and get few opportunities for exercising a benevolent interest in their districts,—as much from the large size of the areas under their charge as from the shortness of the duration of their tenure in one district. But the other side of the matter must always be borne in mind, that an excessive amount of tutelage would lead to no favourable result : like the evolution of the self-governing Dominions in the last century, the rising communities must be allowed to experiment and make the inevitable mistakes, for only thus can adequate experience be acquired.

THERE are many who would deny that the Africans will ever be able to govern themselves,—the question being whether self-governing institutions are going to be adaptable to peoples accustomed to autocracy,—albeit tempered by a certain expression of popular will and by Custom. There are perhaps three different ways of interpreting the Government policy on the matter.

IN the first place it can be maintained that the self-government ideal can only be realised by the methods of evolution that have produced European democracies,—that is, by representative institutions representing a comparatively small educated class, but with a gradually widening franchise. But at present in most parts of Africa, it is impossible to find men of education who could adequately fulfil the functions of representatives. It is justly argued, too, that even if they were to be given representation with Europeans in this way, they would probably be antagonistic to the native rulers, their councils and their Customs.

IN the second place the policy can be construed as meaning that every advanced community should be given the widest possible powers *under its own ruler* : but this interpretation must fail in bringing about the desired result since the process of training primitive tribes in any form of self-government is bound to be a slow one,—which being so, any rapid extension of powers would only result in the perpetuation of the old social evils.

THE true mode of interpretation, as has been shown, is to make *the chiefs* an integral part of the machinery of administration, and to develop self-governing habits through the growth of the native councils. By this means, in the words of the Memorandum on Native Policy of 1930, the "maximum use of the opportunities of self-government in tribal and local institutions will be made," and the natives will be "increasingly associated with Government through native councils." The chief should have an acknowledged status, unhampered by any control from his people in some matters, while subordinate to the control of the directing Power in others. He should have well-defined duties which should never conflict with, and overlap as little as possible with, those of the British officials. The native rulers may never raise armed forces, although they may maintain an unarmed police. The Government's armed police are never, unless in an emergency, quartered in native towns, but are kept as much out of sight as possible in the "townships." As to armed bodyguards, it would be impossible to allow their retention, and it may be said that respect for the White man and his ways is definitely resulting in the prevalence and efficacy of the cause of law and order as an adequate sanction for the authority of the chiefs.

WITH regard to taxation, the British have reserved to themselves the right of imposition, but as some measure of financial independence is necessary for effective rule, the native authority is allowed to make the assessment, and it is collected according to the native law and Custom, although the District Officer keeps a watchful eye on what goes on. It has been already observed that taxation should start from the beginning, because it is largely educational in training the native mind to the idea of government, and a sudden imposition later would be resented. But it is also very useful to impose it from the start on the ground that it is a factor making for consolidation. Local knowledge is necessary for correct assessment: the local headmen have a personal influence over their neighbours, who will raise less objections to paying up. Each separate village head is responsible to the chief of the particular native authority, the possibility of extortion being minimised by Government supervision. All the abuse inherent in the old customs of exacting huge fines, or in converting courtesy gifts to the chief into greatly increased regular payments, was heightened by the swarms of blackmailing officials, who put most of what they could get into their own pockets. To-day the district headmen levy a just tax in the place of the former rulers, who were usually absentees and delegated their duties to these independent officials. Slavery has been abolished and trade has recovered owing to the prohibition of arbitrary levies on traders. Consequently the British Government have done a real service to the natives by putting a stop to these abuses, and by supervising the whole system of taxation. Industry and personal

initiative have been encouraged instead of being, as formally, the mark for spoliation, and the complete emancipation of the peasantry has been the result. A third function of taxation is to supply the chiefs with a proper income, without which they would be compelled to indulge in their former arbitrary methods. For they are *not* salaried Government officials; they derive,—and are recognised by the peasants as deriving,—their income as proper dues from their own people in return for their work as rulers and judges.

WITH regard to the native courts, considerable latitude is given in the matter of legislation. They are allowed to make rules on any subject provided they are not “repugnant to humanity or in opposition to any ordinance,” and provided they are approved of by the Governor. The crowning concession of all, however, is the tolerance shown to native Law and Custom, which may be enforced under the same conditions. This is of the greatest importance in that it has been prompted by a real understanding of the nature of native Custom and of its meaning to the African.

It would be impossible here to go into details. It is obvious that the greater part of the Administrative Officer's work is connected with determining which Customs come under the Government's limiting clause, and which do not. Great tact is also required in persuading the courts to forego certain harmful practices. An intimate knowledge of native law and of native prejudices are equally necessary before a case can be dealt with fairly and without hurting anyone's deeper feelings. Although primitive man can so easily take offence, yet he is equally ready to appreciate a fair judgment. Perhaps the greatest danger in offending his susceptibilities is that he may collapse under the strain. His whole life is so rooted in his Customs that if they are tampered with, he may get a kind of thanatomania in the social sense, and just degenerate.

IGNORANCE of these Customs may therefore lead the Administrator into making fatal mistakes. How dangerous it is to interfere with them, however desirable it may be to alter them, is illustrated by the misconceptions which have arisen over the “bride-price” system. The very name suggests to Europeans that Africans purchase their wives as so much property, and the practice is widely deplored. One does not have to go very far below the surface, however, to discover that the real cause of the system is to provide an insurance between the bride and the bridegroom, and that it is not a mere cash transaction at all. The husband pays a sum of cattle or some other form of wealth to the bride's family, not only to compensate it for the loss of a member, but also as a pledge against her possible ill-treatment and as an earnest of her efficiency and good behaviour. A good example of unintelligent tampering with native usage has been the attempt to insist in the sum

being paid over in full before a marriage could be officially registered. As this was almost impossible to the vast majority of young men, the enactment only resulted in hostility and a rise in the number of secret unions and illegitimate births.

FURTHER mistakes can be made with regard to the marriage systems. Thus in one Protectorate, it was made illegal for a woman to be married against her will, but this was found to be only another matter in which any sweeping change led to an outbreak of additional evils. Where early betrothals are the custom, and marriage (with as many wives as possible) is entered into largely for the sake of wealth and social prestige, there cannot be many cases of genuine love matches, or any great state of feeling against the existing system. The change will, of necessity, have to come, but to introduce it suddenly, in its finished form, among a very primitive tribe, is asking for trouble. Elsewhere, among more developed peoples, Polygamy, together with Patriarchy, the other pivot of the old tribal life, is being irreparably undermined, and the transition stage is bound to be a difficult one. From the man's point of view, Polygamy, with its old ideas of wealth, and its prevention, to a large extent, of extra-marital intercourse, is fast becoming impossible for all but the most wealthy of chiefs, and present day policy tends to regularise the income of chiefs rather than to favour the accumulation of wealth. On the other side, modern African women are coming to realise the value of money. Manchester firms are spreading their cotton goods throughout the country, and illustrating how they may be worn by means of films. No longer, therefore, can a man afford to keep more than one wife, and it is by no means everyone, as has been seen, who can afford even this much.

It always happens that those Customs on which native feeling is most intense concern matters which are of vital importance to the community and are of every day occurrence, such as marriage, birth, death, initiation, war, or disease. It is perfectly natural that taboos and rites should have twined themselves most securely around these turning points in the career of the tribe or individual, but it should be realised everywhere that the constant incidence of cases of this nature is proof of their importance.

To choose but one of them, let us take the case of initiation. Ceremonies at or about the time of puberty have to be undergone by the young of each sex in practically all of the African tribes. They consist usually in fasting and a period of seclusion, during which some operation such as circumcision is performed, and instruction given in sexual matters and in the customary tribal code of behaviour. The age is perhaps the most impressionable one, and the ceremony forms the main bulwark of tribal authority. It must be remembered that the authority

of the elders,—the repositories of Custom,—is the one and only educating factor in the community, and that where there are no books or other modern means of acquiring knowledge, the race will decay unless each new generation can be brought up to the level of the old one. The primitive man is *not* an idiot or an idle good-for-nothing creature without any self-control: if Rousseau had written with some of the findings of modern experience before him, he would have found the exacting regulations of primitive life very far removed from his state of nature. The "savage" is essentially a *man*, and at times a very grim one too.

It is in their nature as ordeals that these rites have attracted most attention. To the people concerned, they are strengthened by a religious significance in that they involve the notion,—common to a good many higher religions,—that suffering somehow delivers a man from his profane environment and gives him a mastery over the world, the flesh, and the devil: it makes him rise above himself to a life superior to that regulated by his own whims merely. On the secular side, the ordeals have a strongly practical significance, too for they imbue a feeling of bravery, obedience, and self-control,—the necessary qualities alike of a warrior or of a tribal elder. To forbid the continued practice of these operations on the ground that they are crude and are accompanied by evil physical results, is to offer an eternal insult to native pride and to strike at the root of one of their most beneficial institutions. Yet this has been done, as among the Kikuyu, where perhaps a more tactful approach to the problem would have resulted in a useful compromise, leading on to the eventual substitution of modern methods and modern ideas.

THERE are other native institutions, which can be completely purged of violence and cruelty, and yet maintained in something of their old form as forces working for good. Such, in most cases, are the age-grades, and the secret societies which so often go with them. They are really a continuation of the initiation ceremony, all boys circumcised at the same time belonging to the same age-grade. Their members have "the obligation of mutual helpfulness, assisting each other in hunting, building and other operations." Such was the sound basis on which these grades were founded, but too often in the past have there been accretions of an undesirable nature in the form of secret societies for extortion and murder, &c., or of fetish cults which used to exist to terrorise the people by human sacrifice and witchcraft. The worst forms of these societies either have been, or are in the process of being, abolished, but the strongly rooted magico-religious feelings which inspired them have made the task a difficult one.

ESPECIALLY notorious is the still-existing belief in witchcraft. This again concerns some of the most important events in the life of the individual,

—the fact of disease or ill-luck. The primitive belief is that all misfortune or disease,—even including death itself,—is caused by some enemy round the corner working magic on you. When things had been going extra badly all round, the practice in the past was to organise a “smelling-out” of witches, at which a witch-doctor presided and pointed out the witches, who were promptly dispatched. Although these have now been prohibited, the belief in witchcraft still exists. The belief, too, in the non-human character of witches excuses their murderers, to the native mind, from the normal penalty for murder. The Government’s attitude to this is not easy, for if it makes it a crime to kill a witch, it is sanctioning the continued existence of people whom the natives regard as murderers, and at the same time it is aiming a humiliating blow at the power of the all-important native witch-doctors. These men have almost invariably risen to their position by sheer ability, and besides having many duties with regard to tribal religion, and being the only protection against witchcraft, they have often attained to chieftainship. Of course the only real way of getting out of the difficulty is to strike at the root of the beliefs. It is another case of the futility of making sweeping alterations. The power of the witch-doctors will have to be curtailed gradually, and their tendency to foster the belief in witchcraft in order to promote their own glory in stamping it out, will have to be prohibited. The gradual permeation of Christian principles will do as much as any other force to eradicate this evil.

THIS is not the place to draw up any debit and credit account of the work of the Missions. In opening up Africa, in putting down slavery, in promoting medical research, and in rescuing millions of Africans from the worst side of primitive life, they have done work of the very first order. But conditions have changed since the early days. Since the war, the problems of Africa have been approached in a new light which tends, in a way, to show up the defects of the Missions, with their internal differences and insistence on the letter of Christianity. But let it be said at once that the present period of general advancement is one, too, of a revision by the Missionaries of their former methods. In their education policy, they have naturally been very much religiously biassed, and have probably been misled, in estimating the number of their converts, by the fact that Christianity, being the White men’s religion, is easily embraced for the social prestige which it brings. It would hardly be untrue to say that Africa has experienced the full force of the old missionary movement which in England has been diverted from people’s minds by other interests. But modern Missionaries are doing everything in their power to maintain as many native arts, crafts, and Customs as possible, and to make the transition period one of aspirations rather than of regrets. They realise the difficulty,—one might almost say the futility,—of insisting on new and abstract ideas, which must be entirely foreign to native ways of thinking.

WITH the actual problem of the detribalised native, this paper is not so directly concerned. Suggestions are only being made as to the ways in which detribalisation of the undesirable kind,—that of the uneducated native labourer,—or of some of the old semi-educated products of the Mission schools,—may be reduced to a minimum : the problem of the fully educated African (detribalisation of the inevitable kind), is to discover how he is to occupy himself until his country develops sufficiently for him to play his part in commercial enterprise, or in fulfilling the Government's ideal of self-government for the native races. To these Africans, but more especially to those less advanced, as well as those still in the tribal stage, not only new interests must be supplied in place of the old, and now prohibited, outlets for energy which were provided by tribal wars and hunting, but new motives must also be substituted in place of the old tribal sanctions of morality. The most widely suggested scheme is that the fully educated African should be encouraged to interest himself actively in every department of modern development, especially in the spreading of advanced education in history, economics, geography, &c. The professions of Law (which affords good opportunity for the exercise of the African's natural gift of oratory), and of journalism, will gradually absorb more natives : some have become ministers of religion, barristers, doctors, or traders, but the greater part have had a very incomplete education, and are content to fill small posts, and it is easy to sympathise with their discontent as expressed in the native press.

WITH those Africans in a less advanced stage, the problem is a more urgent one, since they have still the memories of the old tribal ways fresh in their minds. Detribalisation will soon be setting in all over the territories under British suzerainty, and not in the areas of White settlement only. It would be as well, therefore, before concluding, to say a word on the subject of native education,—the means by which fresh stimuli are to be provided, and the African is to be equipped for his place in the modern world.

It is generally recognised that the main thing to aim at, above all else, is the formation of character, before attempting to train the intellect. Anthropology shows how essentially social and gregarious the native African is. This being so, it would seem that too much individualism, or specialised training whose ultimate object is the passing of examinations, should be avoided at first, although eventually, as Lord Lugard has said, "the irresistible material progress of the country demands an ever-increasing supply of Africans with both a literary and a technical education." To train people for examinations, and to be able to point easily to the results of one's work, is the easiest way to set about education (as was the case, very largely, with the Missions in the past), while the teaching of discipline, to Lord Lugard, involves some sort of public school system of monitors, and a definite supporting policy all along.

WITH all these matters, and many others besides, a knowledge of social and racial Anthropology in its widest sense is intimately concerned. Success in fulfilling the terms of the Dual Mandate must rest very largely on the degree in which those responsible for the government of the country have been able to penetrate the native mind. Unless native Customs are tempered intelligently by the evolutionary measures which it is our duty, as well as our interest, as Trustees to introduce, there will not only be a secret perpetuation of tribal institutions of every kind,—harmful and otherwise,—to meet the daily requirements of collectivist community life, but detribalisation in the bad sense will become more pronounced,—to the detriment of everybody. Native education and native policy, in order to be suited to native ability and understandable to native intelligence, must be based on native institutions and ways of thought, for a knowledge of which a grounding in Anthropology and a working practical knowledge of one's natives, are prime necessities.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE FAMILY STUDIED.

WHAT a pleasure it is to salute achievement, especially when it is progressive and the thinker who has originated an idea, and created its form, sees it become an instrument for the use and welfare of others in circle after circle. Dr. Alice Salomon's work has been of this kind, and the general appreciation of what she has accomplished found remarkable expression this year on the occasion of her 60th birthday, when Dr. Salomon received many hundred tributes sent in grateful admiration of her efforts in international, national and social causes. The Silver Medal of the German State was awarded to her, the Medical Faculty of the University of Berlin gave her the degree of Doctor *honoris causa*, and her name was conferred upon the Social Training School, which she founded in Berlin, and which has been the model for many similar schools since started all over Germany. The object of this school is to provide training for women social workers, who had previously no opportunity of fitting themselves for their vocation.

THROUGH Dr. Salomon's initiative, an "Academy" was also formed of qualified women engaged in social and educational work. This Academy has availed itself of the experience and opportunities of its members to carry out enquiries and preserve records which will be valuable additions to our social knowledge.

DR. SALOMON has never been exclusively a "feminist"; one of her characteristics is her interest in life all round as it affects together men, women and children. Accordingly the latest undertaking of her Academy is a series of studies which investigate the permanence of the family as an institution, and the causes which threaten to disturb its solidarity at the present day. The earlier volumes, which have been noticed in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, began in 1930; now twelve have appeared and about twelve more are in prospect. Those who took part in the International Conference at Frankfurt on Social Work and the Family, or who have been studying and discussing the subject with the help of the Guide prepared by Le Play House, will probably know about these German publications and admire their width of scope and thoroughness of execution.

The titles of those already published are :—

- I. FAMILY LIFE TO-DAY : edited by Alice Salomon and Marie Baum.
- II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY. Dr. Annemarie Niemeyer.
- III. FAMILY HISTORY OF CHILDREN IN KINDERGARTENS, HOMES AND DAY NURSERIES. Dr. Erna Corte.
- IV. YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES IN LARGE CITIES. Gunter Krolzig.
- V. THE ROUTINE (RHYTHMUS) OF DAILY TASKS PERFORMED IN VARIOUS FAMILIES. Dr. Marie Baum and Dr. Alix Westerkamp.
- VI. HOW THE FAMILY INCOME IS COMPOSED IN VARIOUS FAMILIES. Dr. Agnes Martens-Edelmann.
- VII. ASSISTANCE IN HOUSEHOLD DUTIES RENDERED BY CHILDREN. Margret Barth and Annemarie Niemeyer.
- VIII. FAMILY LIFE AS AFFECTED BY THE LACK OF A HOME. Dr. Hanna Meuter.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

- IX. MEN WITHOUT HOMES. Dr. Ventur Schaidnagh.
- X. THE HOUSEHOLD AND MATERNAL TASKS OF WOMEN FACTORY WORKERS. Dora Hansen-Blanke.
- XI. WAGE-EARNING MOTHERS WITH FATHERLESS FAMILIES. Elisabeth Lüdy.
- XII. FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES OF DIVORCED AND DESERTED WIVES. Dr. Elisabeth Frank.

(The prices of the volumes range from 1.90 Marks upwards, and any further information may be obtained from Dr. Alice Salomon, Luitpoldstrasse 27, Berlin W.30.)

EACH of these volumes contains many detailed accounts—leaving out names—of actual people and their home conditions, mostly supplied through collaborators whose work has already brought them into contact with the families described. The volume on young people is composed of statements about their home conditions made anonymously in filling up a questionnaire by 2,000 boys and girls attending trade schools in Berlin.

THE cases thus collected are analysed by the editors in various categories and statistics according to the special object of the enquiry: for instance in "Rhythmus," where the hourly kinds of occupation of the various members of 70 families, from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m., are set out and characterised in graphs; or in "Heimlosigkeit," where from the information received under certain headings about 2,500 families in Köln, they have been divided into a number of classes and types.

THE result is that we get here not only a collection of scientifically recorded direct data, of much value to the student, but also, in each volume, a book of miniature stories and dramas of real life, more engrossing and moving than any fiction. We see difficult lives in hard times and realise how much we always need accurate present-day knowledge of social conditions, especially of people in different classes and countries from our own. Changes in economic facts, in thought, habits and "reactions," probably distinguish each generation from the last, and certainly all the members of a family to-day from their predecessors.

THE recent B.B.C. enquiry in this country has shown what a useful crop can be gathered from family trees. The New London Survey of London Life and Labour continues its work and is now dealing with the census information. More and more advantage is being taken of the example and advice of Le Play House, which has of course shown the way in survey work for years, and its suggestions are being followed by organisations, colleges, schools and individuals. So we hope there is an increasing number of those who care for the development of social science, and all these will find the utmost interest and assistance in Dr. Salomon's series.

MARJORIE PENTLAND.

THE MAKING OF EUROPE.*

THIS book is a valuable addition to the philosophy of history as also to social biology. It studies the origin and growth of European unity from the fourth to the eleventh centuries, i.e., during the so-called Dark Ages. The emphasis lies not so much on the external welter of forces of the *Völkerwanderung* amid the chaos of the disintegration of the Roman Empire as

* THE MAKING OF EUROPE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN UNITY: by Christopher Dawson. Sheed & Ward. 1932. (15s.)

on the living spiritual process, revealed, as it were from within : an organic unity of cultural development which nationalist historians are unlikely ever to realise.

MR. DAWSON claims that this period is the most creative age of all " since it created not this or that manifestation of culture but the very culture itself—the root and ground of all the subsequent cultural achievements." But it requires an impartiality, alike free from Catholic bias as from Pharisaic modernism, to read this age aright. Catholic historians, in their zeal for propaganda, have produced good apologetics and bad history when treating of this period. Moreover, the scientific historian of to-day, viewing history backwards, subordinates the past to the present and gets a false perspective. Mr. Dawson maintains that religious feeling, best of all Catholic faith, there must be to interpret this age of great traditions : for rarely can a secular historian enter that world with a genuine understanding and sympathy. To the Catholic this age is not dark but dawn : in it lie the conversion of the west, the foundation of Christian civilisation, the creation of Christian art and liturgy. The makers of this new age were monks : S. Augustine, S. Benedict, S. Gregory, S. Columba, Bede, S. Boniface, Alcuin and Dunstan.

THE author's aim is, while steering clear of both Catholic and nationalist prejudices, to think of the history of this period of seven centuries in terms of European culture ; to present an organic civilisation that is European in character and tradition, and from which political nationalism is absent. To-day when we are turning to a vague internationalism to save us from the schisms of European nationalist rivalries, few realise the historic justification for the remedy proposed. We have lost our consciousness of this unity of European civilisation which was the keynote of the Middle Ages. History requires to be rewritten in the light of this great tradition. " The social life of to-day, as distinct from its technical equipment, has its roots in the remote past, and there is a vital connection between the society of modern Europe and that of the early medieval world. They are both phases of a single process, which is not the product of blind material and economic forces, but which is none the less an organic development that must be studied as a whole before it can be understood in part." Nor can we strike a true balance without knowledge of the contemporary culture in the Near East : for we must frankly admit that western culture at this period, however interesting it may be to us, was obviously inferior to the culture of its great oriental neighbours.

THE book divides into three parts—the Foundations, the Ascendancy of the East, and the Formation of Western Christendom.

UNDER " Foundations " the author sets forth evidence to show that Europe owes its practical existence to the Roman Empire, its spiritual unity to the Catholic Church, its intellectual culture to the Classical Tradition. We first note that Europe is not a natural unity. Geographically it is an extension of Asia : anthropologically a medley of races : its early culture had no unity. How then is the ideal of a common tradition established ? Historically, it can be traced from the *Ægean* civilisation of 3,000 B.C., through the intermediate character of Hellenism in Europe and Asia, to the union of this Hellenistic world of the East Mediterranean with the barbarian people of western Europe by the agency of Rome. It was the genius of Julius Cæsar that incorporated continental Europe with Mediterranean culture. Augustus completed the work of Cæsar " as the conscious champion not

only of Roman patriotism but of specifically western ideas." For the next four centuries the Roman Empire "consisted in the union of military dictatorship with a society of city states with common laws and common culture." But Mr. Dawson points out that this urban civilisation, directed by enlightened monarchy, was imposed from above and never completely assimilated by the subject population. The military anarchy of the 3rd century, with its economic crisis, led to Diocletian's Dictatorship with an experiment in centralised bureaucratic organisation and a system of socialism. Pax Romana—a world with its common law, religion and culture was cherished as an ideal even to the seventh century.

THE artificial civilisation of the Roman Empire stood in need of religious inspiration. The Christian Church "did not attempt to combat or replace the Roman Empire as a political organism. It was a supernatural society, the polity of the world to come." As the moral foundations of the Roman power gave way the Church stood for an idealism unsurpassed. Surviving the perils of heresy, schism and persecution, the Christian Church conquered the Empire itself in the Constantinian era. The "plebs Christi" became the new citizens of the Christian world. S. Ambrose and S. Gregory are towers of strength in the fateful days of the last decline of the Empire. "Ambrose stands midway between the old classical ideal of civic responsibility and the medieval ideal of the supremacy of the spiritual power." Church and Empire were held together under his influence. "The Emperor," he wrote, "is within the Church, not over it." Pope Leo, in the fifth century, establishes the primacy of the Roman See, while in S. Augustine the new Christian ethic found its highest expression.

It is more difficult to accept without some hesitation Mr. Dawson's thesis that the Classical tradition, which has become so much a part of western culture, not only survived the fall of Rome, but "remained through the Middle Ages as an integral part of the intellectual heritage of the Christian Church." He admits that in the fourth century the supremacy of the classical tradition seemed gravely threatened by the victory of the new religion and that Christianity had nothing in common with Hellenism. "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" he quotes from Tertullian. But Mr. Dawson urges that all the time the Church was preparing for a new Christian culture that would bring into harmony with itself the classical tradition, and that the Apologists of the fourth century were keen students of Greek literature. S. Jerome was both theologian and classicist. "In him the two great spiritual traditions of the Classics and the Bible meet together, and from him they flow out again in a single stream to fertilise the culture of the Middle Ages." S. Augustine was profoundly impressed by Neo-Platonism as a speculative theory of truth; but he required a philosophy of spiritual experience, the "experimental possession" of truth which Greek philosophy could not give. He held that it is better to have knowledge of God than to number the stars or learn the hidden secrets of nature. The Augustinian view dominated religious culture in Western Europe for many centuries in spite of the attempts of Boethius and Cassiodorus to unite Christian philosophy with classical tradition. Cassiodorus collected a classical library which became the starting point of the Benedictine libraries that were the quarry of medieval monastic learning. Yet one must give due weight to the influence of the Augustinian point of view. Mr. Dawson blames the rhetoricians of the Hellenistic period for the cleavage between the scientific and literary traditions of the Greek world: the Greek scientists finding their intellectual home in the East in the schools of Alexandria and Athens. But is it not a fact that Rome turned its eyes from

science? "It is significant that although Galen lived and worked at Rome, his writings were never translated into Latin until the Middle Ages." Only the Neo-Platonism that had become assimilated in the Latin classics found its way through to Latin Christian culture, i.e., only *part* of the Classical tradition was the possession of the Church. "Monastic libraries preserved almost the entire body of Latin classical literature that we possess to-day." But were not Aristotle, Homer, Plato, Euclid, Ptolemy, shut out from Rome and the west until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? Did not the vicissitudes of Rome in its decline and fall hold up Greek scholarship in the west? Were not classical manuscripts and works of art lost in the many attacks on the city, some smuggled away to Sicily and then to Egypt when the Saracens became a menace? And do we not owe it to the Arabs that the sciences of the East and the beauty of the Greek Classics once again blossomed, after an interval of some centuries, in the Age of the Renaissance?

THE human material out of which Europe was fashioned and which received the formative influence of the Roman Empire, the Catholic Church and the Classical tradition, was the barbarian world. It has been customary in the past to minimise the contributions of the barbarians to the civilisation and development of Europe. Latterly, inspired by nineteenth century nationalism, a reaction has set in: Classical and Christian elements of European culture have been discounted to give more emphasis to native energy and national genius. Mr. Dawson will not rob classical and Christian traditions of their historical significance for theories of even such enlightened historians as Strzygowski. Mr. Dawson defines "barbaric," and in the definition removes the stigma of "savagery" ignorantly implied. He shows some justification for the view that Europe was saved by the vitality of the barbarians. "For the barbarian people were not merely a passive and negative background for the creative activities of the higher culture. They had cultural traditions of their own and we are now only beginning to learn from prehistoric research how ancient and deeply rooted these traditions were." He shows the superiority, in many ways, of the tribal to the civic ideal. Each has its contribution to future polity. "The contact of an ancient settled civilisation with a primitive warlike society had set up a process of change, which broke down the organisation alike of the conquered state and the conquering tribe." A fusion between the four elements that went to make up the new European culture—the Roman Empire, the Catholic Church, Classical Culture, and the Barbarians—had already begun in the sixth century. Gaul was the centre of the process where the Franks rapidly assimilated Roman culture. "The one great obstacle to the union of Roman and barbarian in a single society was the difference of religion." When this opposition was removed Frankish monarchy behaved as the heir to imperial Rome. "The Latin tradition was victorious throughout the conquered lands"—but the leadership in learning and science had passed to the East with its advanced Islamic culture and the brilliant Byzantine Renaissance.

THE last section of this book is devoted to the formation of Western Christendom. The monastic movement, with its important missionary activity, led to the evangelisation of rural Europe. Economic life, co-operative labour, literary culture, political organisation and stability were lessons learnt by the Benedictines and passed on by them to European society. Art, religion, scholarship, literature were received by the Anglo-Saxons—"whose civilisation on the material side was a failure: its chief industry the manufacture and export of saints." Under the Carolingians the much needed political reorganisation was carried out and the "union of Teutonic

initiative and Latin order, which is the source of the whole medieval development of culture," was realised. But the last of the barbarian invasions has yet to be reckoned with and we come to the Age of the Vikings and the conversion of the North. "The Viking ideal was by itself too destructive and sterile to be capable of producing the higher points of culture. It acquired its higher culture value only after it had accepted the Christian law and had been disciplined and refined by a century or more of Christian civilisation." After the Saga period, with its great Icelandic culture, follows a period of self-destroying internal warfare signalling the last kick of the barbarian races in a Europe that had already settled down in a feudal society.

THE final chapter of this book returns to the subject of cultural unity in medieval Europe. After the era of Charlemagne and the collapse of the Carolingian experiment came the formation of new regional units with new local dynasties. The state on a feudal basis became again agrarian: the kings semi-nomadic. Mr. Dawson finds in the Church the true organ of culture. Music, art, social services, education, provision for the sick and needy are within its fostering care. Every man in the Church "had his place and could claim rights of spiritual citizenship" in contrast to the feudalism of the state which regarded the peasantry as part of the stock of the estate. The peace-society of the Church and the war-society of the feudal nobility represented two different cultures which inevitably clashed at a time when there was confusion and darkness in the Church itself. Salvation came to Europe through such rulers as Alfred and Otto III. who showed reforming zeal in Church and state. All the forces that went to make up the unity of medieval Europe are represented in the reign of Otto III.—"the Byzantine and Carolingian traditions of the Christian Empire and the ecclesiastical universalism of the Papacy, the spiritual ideals of monastic reformers, the missionary spirit, humanism, and the national devotion to the Roman idea." Here at the close of the tenth century the period of the Dark Ages draws to its end.

MR. DAWSON'S book stands by itself in the presentation of the essential elements of human society in a highly complex age, in its clear conception of the main issues, its appreciation of real values and its impartiality of judgement. He finds what he sets out to seek—an organic unity in European society in the period from the fourth to the tenth centuries. As we follow his leading we are helped to understanding where before we were baffled. The work is a masterpiece of historical interpretation of a period that need not much longer be known as the Dark Ages.

AN excellent bibliography, a set of maps, and unique illustrations provide the reader with further help on the subject.

DOROTHEA PRICE.

THE ÆSTHETIC PRINCIPLES OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING.*

THE hygiene of Town and Country Planning has long been studied in a scientific way, but in regard to æsthetic amenity it has been tacitly assumed that any educated and cultured person is equipped with the necessary knowledge. This assumption is entirely erroneous, for, in fact, the conditions which determine scenic beauty can only be ascertained by systematic study. The aspect of the matter which best rewards investigations is that

*Abstract of paper read at British Association (York meeting): Section E (Geography).

of HARMONIOUS GROUPING, since the character of the new features of construction is largely determined by considerations beyond possibility of administrative control.

In the present paper the author emphasises the preponderating importance to regional planning of (1) architectural elevations which will take their place quietly in the rural landscape particularly in respect of tone and colour. (2) A large increase of tree planting and gardening in the towns to relieve the hardness of line and harshness of surface which make the merely architectural landscape inexpressibly fatiguing to the eye, no matter how excellent its design may be, (3) the compact instead of radial arrangement of suburbs, permitting a definite grouping of architectural and natural features, and (4) the reservation of selected areas of wild scenery as National Parks and Sanctuaries for rare species of animals and plants, in order that our predominantly urban population shall not lose touch with that spontaneous aspect of Nature which has so profound an influence upon the nobler aspirations of the mind.

VAUGHAN CORNISH.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SYSTEM DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN ETHIK UND PÄDAGOGIK:
von Leonard Nelson. Verlag "Öffentliches Leben." Göttingen. 1932.
(Bound, 17M.; Paper, 15M.)

LEONARD NELSON, who died recently, was professor of Philosophy at Göttingen. He was a follower of Kant and Fries: a rationalist in his confidence in the sufficiency of the human reason, and a moralist, in that it was not the "pure" but the "practical" reason in which his dominant interest lay. He was not, however, only a scholar and thinker, but was the leader of a youth movement in Germany, the purpose of which was to train young people for public life, and which bore the name "Öffentliches Leben." The aims of this movement he set forth in a number of pamphlets, some of which I have reviewed. He was a socialist, who, however, broke with the Social Democratic Party. He was so opposed to the attitude of the Christian churches on social questions that a condition of membership in his movement was severance of membership in the church. He founded a school in which he tried to carry out his educational principles. He had the gift of inspiring the enthusiasm of young people to his cause, and their personal devotion to himself. The book under review is a posthumous publication, due to the *pietas* of two of his women-students, who have done their editorial work so well that the volume gives the impression of coming direct from his own hands. It completes his design of issuing three volumes of LECTURES ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF ETHICS.

THE first volume, which appeared in 1917 bore the ambitious title of CRITIQUE OF THE PRACTICAL REASON, as it challenged a comparison with Kant. It had the advantage of greater consistency and lucidity. It asserted the autonomy of the practical reason; I gave an account of the conclusions of this first volume in the review in this journal in April, 1926, of the second volume. The System of the philosophical DOCTRINE OF RIGHT (RECHTSLEHRE) AND POLITICS, which appeared in 1924. There is a parallelism between that second and this third volume on ETHICS AND POLITICS, as in each case the second part is an indication of how the content of the first part may be realised, *Right* collectively in politics, *Ethics* individually by education. But while in that volume the greater part is given to politics (pp. 125-608), in this education gets only 180 pages (pp. 327-507). This volume is very clearly written and easily read; the arrangement is very orderly, and the argument is continuously sustained. It is not only an interesting but a pleasant book to read. The reasoning may sometimes appear too subtle, and the elaboration of the subjects excessive. But it is a valuable contribution to both the subjects with which it deals. There is an elevation in the moral thinking which is very inspiring; but the attitude to the religion of the churches is unjustly hostile, and displays an ignorance of the more liberal progressive Christian thinking.

THE contents may be briefly sketched. The Introduction discusses the task, and the divisions of philosophical ethics, and its place in a system of philosophy. The author distinguishes, and deals separately with the doctrine of duty and the doctrine of the ideals. The obligation of duty is absolute; the realisation of the ideals, however desirable, is not so unreservedly imperative. Each of these doctrines is subdivided into a formal and a material; in the formal the exposition is independent of experience, and professes to be a strictly logical deduction from the mere conception of duty or ideal, in the material the empirical content is taken into account; but the author throughout is the rationalist and not empiricist.

ONLY a rational free personality can be conscious of *duty*, but any living being (animal as well as human) can be the subject of *rights*. The supreme principle of the formal doctrine of right is the command to will the fulfilment of duty, or to form character. Of this the three necessary qualities are strength, vitality and purity. In the formal doctrine of duty the supreme principle is the dignity of the person, irrespective of all individual differences. All persons have to be treated with equality and justice. The author denies that there are any duties towards self directly; all are mediated by relation to others; the duties to others prescribed by reason are the readiness to come to an understanding with others (*Verträglichkeit*) trustworthiness, truthfulness and fidelity. The chapter dealing with the duty to animals seems to affirm the absolute right of an animal to life, and so to forbid the use of animals for food.

To the formation of character there belongs, beside the discharge of duties, the realisation of ideals; but there is this difference, as regards the first there must be rigour, the second allows tolerance. Idealism excludes sentimentality and enthusiasm; and the idealist will avoid the optimism which assumes that the ideal can be realised without strenuous effort, and the pessimism which regards the ideal as unrealisable. The ideals described are those of *culture* including the love of truth, of righteousness, and of beauty (an appreciation of personal worth as well as enjoyment of the beautiful in nature and art). These ideals are realised within a *vocation*, in which lies a corrective of one-sided ideals. While there cannot be a duty of social feeling (*Gemeinschaft*), it has an æsthetic value, and has its source in the ideal of beauty. The conditions of friendship are respect and love; and love is not only sympathy, it is pleasure in and goodwill for another. A too protective love springs from lack of regard for the self-determination of personality. The ideal of friendship leads to the ideal of public life; the sense of community is a virtue, and should possess strength, vitality, and purity. Culture is the end of public life; hence the value of enlightenment, which in trusting in reason is opposed to the romanticism, which clings to tradition. In the community there must be maintained the ideals of equality and liberty. The organisation of public life should exclude despotism on the one hand and anarchy on the other; and there is need of the formation of a party which will make the right its objective.

PEDAGOGY aims at the formation of character; in relation to politics it aims at producing citizens, who will seek the *right* (*Recht*). Empirical pedagogy needs to be supplemented by philosophical, which can be empirically applied. Here too a formal and a material doctrine must be recognised. The ideal of education is the development of the Good as such not in ourselves only, but in others also. While self-development is the moral demand; yet education is possible because that development can be influenced, not by nature only, but by other persons; when that influence dominates to the exclusion of freedom, then there is perversion, not education, for the end of education is self-control. Pedagogic optimism relies on natural development to the Good, pessimism makes that natural development a barrier to the attainment of the Good. A pedagogic realism recognises the hindrances in nature to moral development, but maintains also the possibility of education. An autonomy has to be recognised; there is on the one hand the universal moral principle, and on the other there are the individual differences; this excludes the extremes of *uniformity* and (undue) *originality* in educational method. Personal autonomy excludes the method of authority; its place must be taken by example, confidence, and leadership. (In this section the author indulges in an unnecessary and exaggerated criticism of

authority in religion). As the moral law is objective, subjectivity must be excluded from the method of education. If a moral disposition is to be formed by education, there must be no sanctions of reward or punishment employed. Moral casuistry and laxity must both be avoided as the end is the formation of character in strength, vitality, and purity; the absolute obligation of the right imposes on the educator an insistence on consistency.

THESE formal principles are in the material pedagogy applied to moral, intellectual and æsthetic education. As a character in which the ideals are realised has beauty, the third ideal in a sense embraces the other two ideals. The value of community, life in society, is recognised; but religion holds a very inferior place in the conception of education here offered. By religion the author understands a feeling for the perfect, a presentiment (*Ahndung*) of a world above nature; but any conception of this must be negative and of no practical value.

It has been impossible to reproduce the meticulous argument; but I have tried to indicate the guiding ideas. There is an undue confidence in the sufficiency of *reason*, and the finality of reasoning. The principle of autonomy seems to me to be over-stressed, and the function of authority at a certain stage of development is not adequately recognised. Man is sufficient unto himself, and has no need of God. Historical religion is criticised as a hindrance and not a support to morality. (Only the dogmatic and hierarchical types of Christianity seem to come within the author's purview). The system is a masterly rational structure, but seems remote from much of the reality which has supreme value for the thought and life of man. Whether one agrees with the author or not, he always commands respect for his moral insight and interest.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE PURITAN MIND: by Herbert Wallace Schneider. Constable. (18s.)

PURITANISM is decried by the New Englander of to-day yet the Puritans laid the foundations of American prosperity, and it might be illuminating to some of these superior people to read this exhaustive account of what they owe to their forbears.

A LITTLE band of 102 sailed in the "Mayflower," only 35 of whom were of the Leyden Congregation, yet this handful of men succeeded in establishing a theocracy for a short time. Upheld by the conviction that they were led by God, playing a predetermined rôle, they made the howling wilderness economically a success: all week they laboured to keep the wolf from the door, and on the Sabbath, the appointed day of rest, they toiled in different manner, making a labour of their worship.

THEIR tenets were Calvinistic: they believed in the absolute sovereignty of God, and that they were His elect. Admission to church membership must have been somewhat of an ordeal, for the candidate had to relate the work of redeeming grace in his soul before a public assembly—an ordeal which doubtless prevented many people from joining the church. Soon discord crept in. The children of the original settlers desired a less austere mode of life; immigrants, who had been granted lands for economic reasons, were by no means all Puritans; and among the Puritans themselves bitter disputes arose on intricate theological matters.

A.H.

THE SKELETAL REMAINS OF EARLY MAN : by Aleš Hrdlička.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington. 1930.

THE chief aim of this book is to furnish accurate, and, as far as possible, complete information on the more ancient skeletal remains of man, i.e., up to the end of the Mousterian cultural period which ended the last ice invasion. For nearly a century anthropologists have been searching in all parts of the world for evidences as to why, when and how man came to be. This work attempts to set forth each discovery up to date in the most accurate, complete, dispassionate and highly scientific manner. The book is of value for permanent reference as to past discoveries, and, allowing, as it does, for addenda, will doubtless also inspire further discoveries from time to time. For the author is continually showing the gaps that need to be filled in our knowledge before we can arrive at definite conclusions, and looks forward hopefully to further additions being made to the material already to hand. To him the work of the anthropologist is not merely to reconstruct the past physical history of man, but also "with every new fact adding another imperishable smaller or larger block to the solid foundation upon which will stand not man's future knowledge in regard to himself, but also the understanding of the laws of his further development. It is upon this foundation that will rise sound and beneficent rules of future human behaviour, and of true scientific human eugenics. This is a part of the services of anthropology to humanity."

PROFESSOR HRDLIČKA has not relied merely on the work of others for the information given in this book, although the world's most eminent scientists have contributed first hand reports and observations. In every case before us, and none yet discovered up to 1930 is here omitted, the remains have been seen personally and repeatedly by the author. Measurements have been taken by modern and well tested instruments, the site of the find has been visited and examined and sometimes re-examined after a lapse of years. A series of excellent photographs of site and object is given for each discovery, with tables and detailed measurements and first hand reports on the nature of the site, the story of the discovery, and the character of the remains found. There are many valuable charts and diagrams : a table of contents, list of illustrations and a good index. At the end of each section is a bibliography of additional literature. Throughout the book are careful footnotes with special references. The subject matter of the book is admirably sorted out and put together, while the author's summary of the significance of each discovery is not the least important part of the work. One's only regret is that a book of such first rate quality should be in paper backs.

PROFESSOR HRDLIČKA from the first suggests that all the remains of early man belong to the Quaternary or Ice Age. The remains found in East Africa are assigned to late Tertiary, but the dates of these are still uncertain and it is very doubtful whether the remains are fully human. Geographic distribution of skeletal remains shows greater intensity in Western Europe with gradual extension over most of the Old World. Hrdlička leaves out of the question finds still in dispute in S.W. Asia and Africa : but at the end of the book is an addendum on *Sinanthropus pekinensis* written on cabled information and letters from China arriving as the book was going to press.

HRDLIČKA will not dogmatise about the main cultural stages of prehistoric man. Irregularities, transitional features, topographical and chronological complications make the problem complex and suggest only a provisional acceptance of the four glacial invasions into which German scientists of the first decade of the 20th century divided the Ice Age. Nor can one infer positively because human bones and remains of animals are found together

that the date of the extinct animals gives us the date of man found in association with them. Since Neandertal times there have been intentional burials which may have brought human skeletons artificially in contact with ancient remains of an older deposit. Time standards for the older parts of man's prehistory are still needed. The estimates made of geological time for the Ice Age are still so widely different that nothing as yet can be assumed. But the date for the latest part of the Mousterian and Neandertal period is helped to fixity by the researches of de Geer and Antevs into the erosions and deposits of stratified glacial clays in Scandinavia and America. They give the length of time since the cold of the last glacial invasion as 35,000 years. This settles the date for all following Paleolithic cultures and from it the author is able to draw up as a working suggestion a table of post-glacial chronology from Neolithic, 2,000 B.C., back to Mousterian, 30,000 B.C. There follow charts of cultural chronology for Denmark, Sweden and Northern Europe showing slight variations and much similitude: for the release of the ice in N. Germany and Scandinavia was a very slow affair. An interesting chronological table compares Scandinavian cultures with those of W. Asia, Egypt, Crete and the rest of Europe.

ONE now passes to the story of man's evolution by the study of the series of skeletal remains so far recorded. Of the few skeletal remains attributed to Tertiary man none have stood the tests of critical enquiry, e.g., the Foxhall jaw, said at one time to be Pliocene Man of E. Anglia, can no longer be argued as the specimen is lost. Likewise the Galley Hill skull was much over-estimated, when first found.

"HUMAN prehistory has its pitfalls as well as its triumphs." Pithecanthropus gives no definite stabilising result owing to the inadequacy of the Java material and lack, as yet, of other material for sufficient comparison. Dr. Dubois himself concluded that his find was that of a transitional form which must have existed between man and the anthropoids. "Man and Pithecanthropus both descend from a common Simian ancestor." Hrdlička prefers to say that Pithecanthropus is of uncertain ancestry, and no known progeny, although the fact is established that in Early Quaternary and possibly earlier, there existed in Java a class of beings resembling anthropoid apes on the one hand, and man on the other.* "If all the remains are anthropoid, or if any are human man, the antiquity of man extends back into the Tertiary." The pitch of excitement is reached when a letter from Java announces the find of a second Pithecanthropus. Photographs are telegraphed for and a great impression produced until close examination proves them to be of an arm-bone of an Indian elephant.

ROMANCE and psychology alternate with prehistory in the story of the Piltdown remains, Eanthropus Dawsoni. The first theory was that the thick skull and lower jaw in the Piltdown materials belonged to an individual living in the Early Pleistocene Age, i.e., long before Neandertal and Heidelberg forms, and that he was ancestor of Homo sapiens. The eoliths found in situ show obvious signs of human workmanship, there are other flint implements and a tool made from the bone of an elephant. Yet Hrdlička cannot connect the "shapely, wholly normal Piltdown jaw with the gross heavy skull." The jaw is more primitive than any other known jaw of early man. Was that jaw human? Are not the teeth prehuman? Do they not belong to a being from the dawn of the human period? Eanthropus? In that case the Piltdown remains comprise fragments of two skulls, of Eanthropus and of the later individual who worked flints.

* Dr. Hrdlička has since come to the conclusion that Pithecanthropus was ape-woman and not ape-man.

HEIDELBERG man is clearly authenticated; the teeth though primitive are doubtless human; the food and mode of life indicated related to those of primitive man. Hrdlička remeasured the jaw and gives tables of comparative measurements of it and those of a modern German jaw (sharing marked differences) and of a strong male Eskimo (very similar to the Heidelberg).

OF Rhodesian man, found at Broken Hill mine, nothing positive can yet be stated. The specimen is not a Neandertaler, but a combination of pre-Neandertal, Neandertaloid, and recent characters. It is a mystery, for it does not fit with the surroundings nor is it at all like the negro types of Africa—"a comet in man's prehistory," a chronological puzzle. Hrdlička's section on Rhodesian man cannot here be quoted at length: but it deserves careful reading. As a piece of scientific literature it is a delightful example of the fascination of anthropological research. The pathological features in the British Museum report by eight specialists reveal human dentition, with chronic sepsis, chronic middle ear disease with mastoid abscess which broke, tracked down his neck into the thorax and caused death.

THE Neandertal family, dated by Mousterian culture, and extending from Western Europe to Western Asia, closes the series of skeletal remains, but leaves us with questions unanswered. Is Neandertal man a distinct species, perishing abruptly and completely? Or did *Homo sapiens* spring directly from Neandertaler? Hrdlička will not accept one or other theory as final, though he favours the latter. The characteristics of the Neandertaler are those of a lower evolutionary stage man than of any normal being of pre-historic times. But there are signs of transition from Neandertal to more modern times. The Spy (Belgium) skeletons and the remains of La Ferrassie (Dordogne) represent intentional burials: the eight layers at Le Moustier give a range of tools from crude to highly polished flints. The graceful implements found at La Cotte (Jersey) show skill as a flint artisan. Fire is known to the Neandertaler; but not domestication of animals or agriculture. He begins as a dweller in the open, but uses rock shelters, caverns and caves as the climate cools. His food shows signs of roasting but there is no trace of vessels for boiling. From the refuse in front of his caves we find bones broken for marrow and brains—toothsome dainties.

HRDLIČKA's book gives us a starting point for further research. The basis has been laid on sound foundations so that additional knowledge from further enquiry will in no way diminish the value of the present work.

DOROTHEA PRICE.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH PARISH: by Wray Hunt. Harrap. (5s. net)

MR. HUNT traces the growth of the English Parish from its nebulous commencement some time after the Synod of Whitby, when Roman Christianity with its discipline was adopted, down to the post-war period. He shows how the lord of the manor first ruled his estate and how the local power of the Church grew from the settlement of a priest as private chaplain to the lord. We see again many of the changes which overtook our country in relation to their effects upon the parish, as for example the coming of the Danes and Normans, and the rise of the Guilds.

REFERENCE is constantly made to the village of Holsham, but the location of this place is not explained in the text or by means of a map: nor is it clear how far records have been drawn upon, or how much is inferred from what happened elsewhere. The case of the "township" of the north, where the ecclesiastical parish and the old manor do not coincide, is not considered.

RUSKIN'S GUILD OF ST. GEORGE: by Edith Hope Scott: with an Introduction by Sir Michael Sadler. Methuen. 1931. (7s. 6d.)

THIS little book of 144 pages, charmingly illustrated, and divided into eleven short chapters, badly lacks a table of contents or at least chapter headings. The title suggests a welcome means of at last clearing up one's mind about Ruskin's Guild of St. George: its origin, constitution, history, and possible future. But nothing so definite takes shape until the last two chapters for, as the author explains, "the Guild of St. George is the history of the soul of Ruskin—of the soul functioning by a secret relation with God and man. And so the documents of this history are to be found in the scattered leaves of those more or less nameless people who met Ruskin in the obscure adventure of the Guild of St. George."

FOR those who are really anxious for definite knowledge about the Guild I should suggest a different sequence of chapters. First, the delightfully suggestive Introduction by Sir Michael Sadler, which is actually an introduction to Ruskin as he remembers him at Oxford in 1881. "Ruskin," he says, "is like Gothic architecture, a living thing always in development: half religious, half social in the momentum of its growth: shadowy in its recesses, soaring in its ideals: at all times the focus of faith but also at all times a convert for scepticisms."

NEXT in sequence, I should take the last two chapters in the book. Chapter X. attempts, for Ruskin's sake, to correct the idea that St. George's Guild is "a rather vague dream or romantic Utopia of which *FORS CLAVIGERA* is the only document. Here we learn that the Guild is a properly constituted association having a registered office and with very definite Articles of Association by which the Society is carried on and governed. The names of past and present Trustees are mentioned, as well as those of the four previous Masters, the present Master being Mr. H. C. Fairfax-Cholmeley. The framework of the Guild is defined in the Memorandum of Association from which the author quotes—"To determine and institute in practice the wholesome laws of laborious (especially agricultural) life and economy, and to instruct first the agricultural and, as opportunity may serve, other labourers and craftsmen in such science, art and literature as are conducive to good husbandry and craftsmanship." And again—"The acquisition by gift, purchase or otherwise, of such pictures, sculpture, books and objects of art and natural history, as may be properly adapted for the cultivation of taste and intelligence among rural labourers and craftsmen."

IN these two articles we find the explanation of the agricultural settlement of the Guild in the Forest of Wyre, and of the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield.

IN Chapter XI. we get the answer to the challenge: Why should the Guild still maintain a separate existence? The Guild exists as an organisation to fight against the Nemesis of organisation, to cut across the main drift of material progress, to take the steep and perilous climb of spiritual advance. The Guild gathers into its companionship, either formally or in spirit, all those who are not bemused by a word, but believe that Progress means life and not apparatus: that education does not exist for a career, nor religion for a Church; that Art is not the walled garden of a technique, nor the land a chessboard for games of chance and theory." Here we have the key to the whole book, which may now be read from beginning to end with interest and clearer understanding. We learn that the Guild was actually formed by means of letters in *FORS CLAVIGERA* issued from time to time by Ruskin. In it the ideals for the Guild are set forth—"to preserve the country to the

countryman and the countryman to the country." In response 32 Companions of the Guild were enrolled, with Ruskin as Founder and first Guild Master. Utopian though it was, the Guild was recognised by the Board of Trade. The publication of *FORS* continued as the working Mandate of the Guild, expressing not only Ruskin's intentions and exhortations, but including replies from him to letters of the Guild Companions to their Master.

MANY of these letters to Companions of the Guild appear in the book, revealing not only Ruskin's philosophy but also the simple confidence that existed between the Companions and their first Master.

THE revival of handicrafts was also to be part of the Guild activities. In 1883 Miss Twelves took up the task of teaching first herself and then the village women of Langdale to spin and then to weave by hand-loom, thus creating the famous Ruskin Linen Industry. Though outside the Guild at first, the work was directly due to Ruskin as the testimony of Miss Twelves bears witness—"the success of the Ruskin Linen Industry is due *absolutely* and *entirely* to the inspiration gained and enthusiasm for better and nobler aims in life contained in Mr. Ruskin's writings. From him alone, and through his influence, have I learned how by endeavouring to put into practice what each one of us may feel to be good, and then devoting our energies in earnest, self-sacrifice to accomplish an ideal, we have clearer visions of the great possibilities for happy life and work in rural England yet." Ruskin, in turn, appreciated the significance and quality of the work of Miss Twelves and allowed her to use his name and motto as a trade mark for the industry.

SPACE will not admit of an account of the May Day celebrations at Whitelands College at which Ruskin presented the gold cross to the May Queen and books to her Maids of Honour. But one must not omit reference to the Ruskin Museum now housed by the Sheffield Corporation. Ruskin intended it to be a Temple of the Muses for the Ironworkers of Sheffield. In it were to be housed hundreds of drawings, illuminated manuscripts, and paintings, and mineral gems. All the objects available were not to be on view at one time—"The primary principle of exhibition is that the collection must never be increased to its own confusion, but with a resolute limit." This Museum was to train both eye and mind to recognise a pure line and a true colour. For this a hurried inspection of a large collection was of no value. As Ruskin says: "One can no more see twenty stones worth seeing in an hour than one can read twenty books worth reading in a day." The Museum at Sheffield was intended to be the first of a series of St. George's Art Museums illustrating what Ruskin meant by education, and is a most important contribution of the Guild to modern life.

THE book is certainly Ruskinian and, as Sir Michael Sadler says in the introduction, "fills a gap."

D. P.

THE MODERN AMERICAN FAMILY: edited by Donald Young, Ph.D. (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 160.) Philadelphia, 1932.

TWENTY-FIVE papers and a Foreword make up this volume. The authors are for the most part American sociologists of authority. The papers fall into three sections: The Heritage of the Modern Family; The American Family in Transition; and Efforts at Family Stabilisation. Thus the historic background of family life, the problems of the present, and current attempts at their solution are all given adequate place. Within each section the range of subject is wide: such matters as Primitive Family Life, Birth Control, the Reorganisation of Household Work, and Parent Education are dealt with in separate papers. The quality of the papers varies a good deal, some being in more popular style than others: but the total result is useful: and the tone of the whole pleasing.

LAND AND LIFE: THE ECONOMIC NATIONAL POLICY FOR AGRICULTURE: by Viscount Astor and Keith A. H. Murray. Gollancz. 1932. (5s.)

Of all the books recently published for the general reader on the agricultural problem, this is the most useful. In it definite policies, which are both intelligible and practicable, are expounded lucidly, and supported vigorously; those who agree and those who disagree will alike find the pertinent facts on which conclusions must be based.

AMONG these may be mentioned (1) the decline in the area under crops, which was less by 31 per cent. in 1930 than in 1870; (2) the fact that the increase in yield per acre on this reduced acreage during the last forty years is less than a third of that in Holland and Belgium, only half of that in France, and less than a quarter of that in Denmark and Germany; (3) in the same period an increase of 18 per cent. in live stock units compared with 49 per cent. in Belgium, 60 per cent. in Holland, and 100 per cent. in Denmark; (4) the workers in agriculture recorded as 1,972,000 in 1871, were only 1,307,000 in 1921, and have certainly further decreased since. Throughout this period a national agricultural policy has been lacking, and even now the need for it, though much discussed, is very imperfectly recognised by political parties and their leaders.

THE writers specify as the objectives of such a policy (1) more people on the land, (2) greater food production, and (3) high efficiency. From this point of view they discuss, and condemn, the wheat quota system which has since been adopted at Ottawa, and the sugar beet subsidy. The latter, they show, has done nothing to check the decline in arable cultivation or to increase employment on the land, it cost a continually increasing sum, rising to £8,810,000 for the financial year 1930-1, and although by then £30,000,000 of the public money had been handed over to factory owners and sugar growers, there was still not the slightest prospect that the industry could ever be established permanently. With regard to the wheat quota, they show that wheat in Great Britain is a less important crop than potatoes, that the value of the annual output is much less than that of poultry and eggs, and a trifle compared with that of milk, and that it is these products which should be encouraged, together with fruits and vegetables, in order to repopulate our devastated areas, instead of wheat and sugar beet. At half the cost of the beet subsidy a daily glass of milk could be given to each school child, which would greatly improve the national physique, and be a much more effective stimulus to agricultural employment.

THE policy advocated is, in general outlines, acquiescence in the shift-over from a cereal basis for agriculture to a livestock basis, with special encouragement of production of eggs, fruit and vegetables, under the guidance of the department of agriculture to which fuller powers and larger funds should be granted, and multiplication of small holdings and allotments. Among the special points emphasised are the need for an intelligible terminology for the grades of milk, in place of the delusive system of calling the third grade in quality "Grade A," and the desirability of a reform in the method of levying Death Duties on landowners. To demand payment in cash robs the land of needed capital, and there is provision for payment in land, but, unfortunately, the option of accepting land is vested in the Treasury, which, of course, always refuses it. If the option were instead in the Commissioners of Crown lands, who already hold 330,000 acres of agricultural land, and administer their estates far better than most private owners, the option would probably often be exercised, and the transition, admitted to be necessary, from private to public ownership, would be facilitated.

AT HOME WITH THE SAVAGE: by J. H. Driberg. Routledge.
1932. (7s. 6d.)

MORE and more is Anthropology coming into its own. This book, based on the self-imposed and very elaborate technique of a field-worker who has made the most of the opportunities of fifteen years' service in Uganda and the Sudan, is a most notable attempt to interest an ever-widening circle of readers in the science. Its appeal lies largely in the straightforward and entertaining way in which the author's ideas and experiences are set out. The book is intended for the intelligent reader interested in the social sciences, who may have shrunk in despair from such a vast subject as Anthropology, or again, for administrators and others to whom a true appreciation of the scope of the subject in the life of the world may either be a matter of very real importance, or one of intellectual interest only. Mr. Driberg enlists the former on his side by making no pretence to write a treatise on the whole science: indeed, the study of "man in evolution" must necessarily comprise subjects for which an armament of technicalities is essential—and although Physical Anthropology, for example, is very far from being the purely academic science which the author suggests, yet he has put his finger on that part of the science—Social Anthropology—which is its most important aspect to-day. In the matter of practical application, too, he appeals to a large number of readers who look, in reading a new subject, to its use in everyday affairs. Social Anthropology is shown, in no unmistakable way, to be the only rational standpoint from which to approach "those problems of contact which now loom so insistently on the cultural horizon." The firmly-rooted nature of native custom is noted, as is also the inadvisability of indulging in sudden changes—even among civilised peoples where progress and a higher general level of intelligence very greatly reduce the omnipotence of Custom. Anthropology not only enables two cultures to combine in the way which will be most profitable to each (as the Author points out), but in many cases it may result in additional benefit accruing from the contact—the product of a kind of critical activity stirred up by the perception of differences in the opposed system of ideas. Perhaps two of the most difficult traits to reconcile with each other are the European's ideas on equality and the African's conception of status. The latter's "relative position of obligation towards all other members of the community" is constantly varying through a succession of *rites de passage*, of which death is only the last admitting him to the status of ancestor before he is reborn again. This being so, it would be absurd to enforce democratic principles, however much they may seem to appeal to "enlightened" Western opinions, on the natives of British Tropical Africa. The Government's policy of Indirect Rule through the chiefs frankly accepts this view, but its importance is in constant need of fresh emphasis among settlers and administrators.

THE other main use of Social Anthropology is that it furnishes the true basis for a study of the social sciences. "It is no use looking for the philosophy of culture in an advanced civilisation alone: we must go right back to get at first principles." That this should necessarily direct our attention towards a state of "savagery," as the title of the book suggests, is a mistake which the reader might well fall into: the popular connotation of the word savours too much of the animal level to be of much profit—other than to the Physical Anthropologist—in a study of social evolution. The primitive peoples of Africa are very far removed from a state of savagery, yet a knowledge of their customs, as the author shows, can be of the greatest help by giving concrete data for the use of the more general and philosophic sciences such

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as Sociology. "Anthropology is not only the surest, but the only approach to social biology." It is the "science which relates man to his activities." It must therefore take into account environmental conditions and historical backgrounds. From the psychological as well as from the material standpoint, it studies man, and groups of men, as living organisms.

SOME Anthropologists have so far recognised the psychological strength of the "group mind" as to deny to the individual any existence other than as "a cog in the mechanism of the community." But the psychology of the individual is not without its importance in the evolution of primitive societies, although not nearly so determining a factor as it is in the modern societies studied by Sociology. There is an excellent chapter on the Individual. Other especially interesting chapters are those on Human Nature, and Environment and Culture. Social Anthropology co-ordinates all these methods of approach, and is therefore a liberal education in itself in that it involves at least an acquaintance with those numerous forces which have moulded men's social destinies.

EVERY aspect of primitive life is considered, and while examples from Africa are the most frequent to be adduced, the underlying similarities in all "savage" cultures are emphasised, and the differences accounted for, in the same clear manner. Mr. Driberg has a very good idea of the doubts which beset the reader new to the subject: he even avers that he himself had never heard of the word Anthropology when he first went to Africa. Other chapters, besides those mentioned, are those on the Family, Manners, the Clan, the Tribe, Tribal Government, Warfare, Religion, Magic, Economic Life, Law, and Education, each of which contains analogies from modern life which make the subject extremely interesting and readable. The book is full of human interest.

K. S. W.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN: by G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan. (12s. 6d.)

THIS second edition of Mr. Cole's LIFE OF ROBERT OWEN contains in a revised opening chapter "a modified evaluation of Owen's position in the development of Socialist thought." Owen, himself a prosperous manufacturer, was yet opposed to Capitalism; he foresaw that the forces nascent with the employment of machinery would need controlling, and the mild philanthropy of his early years grew into Socialism. His practical experiments were failures, and he has been ridiculed, but the author says that "he was immensely the greatest figure in the development of British Socialism and, I think, in the whole of British Socialist history."

ROBERT OWEN was entirely a self-made man. Born at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1771, from the age of ten, when he left home, he was self-supporting. He was first apprenticed to a shopkeeper in Stamford: his third apprenticeship took him to Manchester just when the cotton trade was beginning to boom, and at 19 he set up on his own as a spinner. Soon he was making £300 a year, but he gave up his own business to direct one of the biggest mills in the place—thus initiating his successful career as manager. In 1800 he removed to New Lanark to take charge of the mill and industrial village which he and his partners had recently bought. Conditions there, though better than in the majority of factories, were deplorable, and Owen, believing that a man's character is formed by his environment, immediately began improving his workpeople's surroundings as far as he, the junior partner, was able. He refused to engage any more pauper children. He built schools where he tried out his advanced ideas on education, and they and New Lanark soon became show-places.

A.H.

INTERNATIONAL WAGE COMPARISONS. Manchester University Press. 1931. (10s. 6d.)

THIS publication arises out of two international conferences convened by the Social Science Research Council of the United States, which met at Geneva in January, 1929, and May 1930. The countries represented were Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States, the term "United Kingdom" signifying Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Reports are submitted on Wages, Hours of Labour and Cost of Living from each of the countries represented, and we are also given the proceedings of the two Conferences, and two memoranda presented by the International Labour Office.

ATTENTION is drawn to the extreme difficulty of obtaining and presenting figures in such a way as to make them comparable, a difficulty which will readily be realised by any student who endeavours to make use of the statistics supplied in order to obtain some general views either with regard to comparative wage levels in different countries or of the rise or fall in each country of the prosperity of wage-earners. On the former question, the International Labour Office presents a table of Gold wages, gold prices and real wages in different cities in July, 1928. Expressed in index numbers, taking the wage level in London as 100, real wages in the other cities are stated as, Philadelphia 180, Ottawa 160, Dublin 100, Stockholm 85, Amsterdam 80 (misprinted as 8), Berlin 70, Paris 60, Madrid 54, Brussels 51, Milan 46, Prague and Lodz 45, Rome, Vienna and Warsaw 42, and Lisbon 35. The special reports from the different countries represented indicate a considerable rise in the general level of real wages in U.S.A. between 1924 and 1930, though there was a sign of trouble coming in the fact that wages of coal miners, in both the United States and in Canada, were falling heavily. If the information had been collected the same phenomenon might perhaps have been observed in the earnings of the workers engaged in fishing and agriculture. In Canada, France and Italy the movement of real wages was slight, but Germany reported a rise of 50 per cent. in the money wages of skilled labour and of 60 per cent. in those of unskilled labour, with only a very slight rise in retail prices. The rise was continuous from 1924 to 1929, and the rates of wages settled by collective agreements in October, 1930, were at almost exactly the same level as in October, 1929. These collective agreements determined the wages of over twelve million workers.

THOUGH the information it contains became very rapidly out of date with the sudden onslaught of the depression under which the world is suffering, this book remains a useful work of reference.

G. S.

LABOUR AGREEMENTS IN COAL MINES : by Louis Block. Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 1931. (2 vols.)

THE agreements studied in this monograph are those between the miners' union and the operators of the bituminous mines in Illinois, particularly with reference to the settlement of petty disputes arising out of the application of general agreements between the union and the employers' association. The terms of settlement of a hundred and forty such disputes are quoted. Up to 1927 the Illinois miners' union was District 12 of the United Mine Workers of America, but in that year it broke away, being more ready to

compromise with the employers' demands for reduction of wages than the central executive. It thus was able to secure a temporary immunity from attack in the general war waged by proprietors against trade unionism in the American bituminous mines, and in 1928 was able to conclude a new agreement to last up to 1931. Miss Mary Kleeck, the Director of the Department of Industrial Studies for the Russell Sage Foundation, who contributes a preface to Mr. Block's book, opined that "Illinois appeared to be the seeding ground from which a new union might develop." Actually, as I understand, the Illinois Union in 1932 has been fighting desperately for existence.

MR. BLOCK says as little as possible about general issues, and refrains from giving enough information about the general conditions of the bituminous coal industry to make his volume informative to an English reader. The facts which he sets out indicate that the existence of a very strong union in Illinois was very helpful to the satisfactory working of the mines. It is all the more difficult to understand the savage anti-union war waged this year. Much of the information which Mr. Block does supply is too much concerned with petty detail to be of interest on this side of the Atlantic, and events have moved so fast that even for American readers his survey is probably already out of date. Here and there, as it were by accident, we get an interesting item of information. Thus we hear that in 1890 the United Mine Workers put the eight hours day in the forefront of its programme, and gradually succeeded in making that the general rate, and that in 1924 it stood for a six hours day. Trappers, boys employed to open and shut traps doors, were then paid at the rate of four dollars a day, men employed underground on day wages, 7.25 dollars per day. On the other hand the intervention of the union was required to prevent men from being fined for refusing to enter a cage when the safety catches were out of order, for being absent when sick, and for attending the funeral of a near relative.

G. S.

WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING. International Industrial Relations Institute, The Hague. 1932. (H.Fl. 4.50.)

THIS thick volume contains the material contributed to the World Social Economic Congress, held at Amsterdam in August, 1931. A companion or Addendum volume contains translations of the chief materials, which are thus available in three languages—English, French and German.

THIS volume is unique in character in that it forms the first and only presentation of the subject of world social economic planning, containing the various points of view of economists, managers of industry, and workers, from 26 countries. It includes, moreover, a report, presented for the first time from an international platform, by a group of experts from the planning institutions of the Soviet Union, in which an account is given of the methods and premises of social economic planning under the new system in that country. The technique of planning is also presented in material on the subject of scientific management as conceived in the United States and in Europe.

THE material is preceded by a comprehensive analysis and review by Miss Mary van Kleeck, who acted as chairman of the Congress Programme Committee. The volume consists of over 650 pages and includes a number of valuable tables and charts.

MARTYRDOM IN OUR TIMES: Two Essays on Prisons and Punishment. By A. Mitchell Innes. Williams & Norgate. 1932. (3s. 6d.)

HERE we have a study in contrast between Western methods of dealing with convicted persons and the Oriental conception of how men should be treated. The author has first-hand knowledge of these matters in both East and West. But it is not as Minister Plenipotentiary of a South American republic, nor as Financial Adviser to one of our Oriental dependencies that he now speaks: he pleads simply and directly as "the friend of those who have been in prison."

THE first essay entitled "Halls of Injustice" traces the mercenary origin of our European judicial system. In the days of Charlemagne justice was above everything considered as a revenue: the essential thing was the fines which the judge inflicted for his profit. Our earliest assizes were fine-collecting missions. Justice *per se* was no part of the royal programme, nor was it a feature of feudal courts with their fines and fees. The dehumanising process of our administration was further developed through the jury system whereby twelve men, unconcerned in the case and unknown to the prisoner, passed verdict on him quite dispassionately. The individual is nothing: every offence has its scheduled penalty. The system is strictly mechanical and evenhanded as the scales.

THE author then considers the effects of this system on youthful prisoners, for his concern is with offenders between the ages of 16 and 24. The publicity of the trial robs a first offender of self-respect. Imprisonment stultifies his intelligence, represses his individuality, strangles his soul. The idea that there should be curative rather than punitive remedies is quite modern and not yet accepted. The law provides for no discrimination of motive or provocation as between individuals committing the same crime, although fines can be accepted and bail allowed for those who have money to pay. Prison is regarded as a safe deterrent, in spite of the fact that it often suggests a risk to the venturesome that is almost a provocation. Yet the author insists that a criminal act is but the outward manifestation of an underlying cause, and poverty is at the bottom of nearly all crime. To fight poverty in the slums and provide useful and remunerative work is the only true safeguard of the State.

THE second essay "Until Seventy times Seven" brings out the diametrically opposite view of Oriental peoples toward crime and punishment. The Oriental, and particularly the Mohammedan, would not exact a penalty for each offence. There are penalties provided by the Koran: but they are permissive and are applied only if the injured person makes the demand. Compensation and retaliation may give place to the right of the injured to forgive the offence. The Oriental regards the village community, presided over by the headman, as the most suitable judicial authority. Village justice is a compound of unwritten law, custom, and religion, elastic enough to consider each case on its own merits. The rigid ordinances of a centralised system, which we superimpose, strike the Oriental as inhuman, barbarous, and irreligious.

THE choice lies between elasticity and rigidity. To illustrate the former we are taken back to an imaginary scene in a native court in the days before British administration. A man has just been caught robbing an orchard for the seventh time. The thief is cringing, raving, blaspheming, denying and confessing by turns. Everyone awaits the decision of the owner of

the orchard. The penalty, if inflicted, according to the Koran, is loss of the right hand. But the Koran also enjoins forgiveness if one hopes to be forgiven. Thus dogma of Divine reciprocity is native to the soil. The injured man is affected by the thought of it. The prisoner is forgiven: his hand is spared. But the headman then demands service on behalf of the community by that hand. A bridge must be repaired, a road mended. The retribution is thus paid by a free man and not by a maimed prisoner. The thief accepts the obligation of manual labour and tearfully vows to make good by fulfilling the tasks laid on him.

The village-unit system of the East did not work perfectly in the past: but "we have destroyed without rebuilding. Religion and custom are slowly being driven out of the relations between man and man, and law reigns alone."

D. P.

SOCIOLOGIE DE LA GUERRE ET DE LA PAIX: (Annales de l'Institut international de Sociologia, Tome XVI.). Giard, Paris. 1931. (50 frs.)

ON the eve of the Disarmament Conference people who are asking themselves what are the practical means of realising world peace will no doubt be anxious to know how it is that more than thirty sociologists belonging to the most diverse countries have been able to reach agreement in the fundamental search for the principal causes of war and for the indispensable factors of peace. There is nothing Utopian or purely sentimental, no giving way to optimism or to pessimism, no nationalistic, political or judicial prejudices; but only the sincerest efforts to examine impartially the conditions under which wars are prepared for and are produced, independently of the will of the individual and of the devices of diplomacy; and as regards peace, there are no panaceas or grandiose projects; just a simple statement of the errors which must be remedied when the consequences of those errors have been seen from the economic, legal and political, as well as from the ethico-religious, educational, &c., points of view. That is what characterises this product of a widespread intellectual co-operation, improved by systematic presentation.

THE work is divided into three parts, each containing several chapters; the various communications, instead of being in juxtaposition, are connected each to the other by brief introductions which ensure continuity of conception. A report by Professor Richard, President of the Institut, and an introductory memorandum by Professor Duprat, the General Secretary, as well as a conclusion by the same writer, give the reader a synthetic conception of the causes of war and the factors of peace. Each question of detail is treated with the greatest competence by lawyers, economists, philosophers, historians, ethnologists, as also by eminent sociologists.

NOWHERE can a more profound and varied study of the questions which have become so vital at the present time be found. There is no other work on the War or on the Peace which can give a better assurance of objectivity and profundity. World sociology should pride itself on such a contribution to rational pacifism. Statesmen will read with profit the numerous reviews on nationalism, protection and artificialism which are now adding their disastrous effects to the results of passions embittered by unwholesome incitements or to generalised apathy maintained by tricks of oratory.

THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE : by Cecil Clare North.
McGraw Hill Co. 1931. (17s. 6d.)

PROFESSOR NORTH gives a clear picture of the field of social work in America and, in particular, of the progress made there by the two ideas of public control of social services and the co-ordination or organisation of social effort. His assumption that "Ultimately the responsibility for social work lies upon government as the representative of all the people," and that consequently "the task of preparing the way for its assumption by a public department is the first and chief task of a private agency" cannot be unfamiliar to any one in Great Britain. It is less frequent to find the convinced adherent of this view ready to examine its practical implications and results over a wide field. As a result of Dr. North's researches on these lines, he comes to the conclusion that, owing to lack of informed public opinion, efficient administration or competent officials, "More haste," in obtaining the assumption of public responsibility "May make for less speed" in social progress. In the same way, while he says that he started by assuming that the great need in social effort was organisation, he adds that his studies of existing agencies have convinced him that the more important underlying needs are right personnel and professional technique. He writes:—"Organisation is built around personalities. That is a good piece of machinery which works well for the ends desired. But social organisation is machinery constructed out of human loyalties, attractions, confidences. One type of personality can make one form of machinery work, another type can make another work. The machinery must fit the peculiar traits of the helmsman." Much of the book is taken up by accounts of social agencies and experiments which form the basis for these conclusions; and the "informal community organisation" of Boston is described as a significant example of the importance of local traditions and characteristics in determining the nature and appropriate degree of organisation.

PROFESSOR NORTH's book contains an interesting account of the use of such devices as the "Community Chest," of colour problems, and of the beginnings of the Survey in America as a result of the Pittsburg Survey. "These two ideas of basing promotion of social work on study and of taking the community as an entirety into consideration," he says, "are to-day fundamental in all our considerations of developing social work. And it is to the survey movement that we owe their widespread acceptance."

PERHAPS the special interest of this book lies in the whole-hearted admission by a convinced adherent of public responsibility for all social services that even more important than the type of organisation or co-ordination are technique and personality. Organisation is in fact "a tool with which to increase the effectiveness of the personnel. Its place should never be that of the master."

HILDA JENNINGS.

THE LARGE ESTATES OF BYZANTINE EGYPT: by Edward
Rockie Hardy. Columbia University Press. 1931.

THE interest of this study arises largely from the side-light it throws on the evolution of feudalism in mediæval Europe. As civil wars undermined the strength of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, the bureaucratic control of Byzantium over Egypt decayed, and at the same time the pressure of taxation needed to restore the military defences of the Empire increased.

The heaviest tax was the *Embole*, levied in wheat annually shipped to Byzantium, and during the fifth and sixth centuries the maintenance of these compulsory supplies was the chief interest of the Imperial Government in Egyptian affairs. The peasantry were driven to put themselves under the protection of "patrons" as a defence against the exactions of corrupt and grasping revenue collectors, frequently choosing these very collectors or other officials as patrons. In consequence the peasantry sank into the status of serfs, and as "coloni" were tied to the soil, and the patrons developed into estate owners whose proprietary rights were recognised by the government.

At the stage when this incipient feudalism was cut short in its evolution by the Arab conquest, it resembled the feudalism of Western Europe in the fact that the estate owners maintained a private soldiery, "bucellarii," and, in spite of the law, private prisons. They collected the revenue from the peasantry, together with the rents they added, partly in money and partly in kind, and made contributions to the Church to the extent they thought fit. But in other respects there were differences. The estates did not cover the whole country, the private wars they indulged in were not against each other, but took the form of minor outrages on the surviving free villages to induce them to accept patrons. Thus in the decade 560-570 the men of Aphrodito were seized when they went to market and thrown by Serenas into his private gaol, and Menas, an official as well as a landowner, broke down the dam on which the agriculture of the township depended, and plundered the village itself. It was in vain that the unfortunate peasantry had turned their lands into what would be in Norman England a "Royal Manor" by putting themselves under personal patronage of the Empress. Byzantium was too far away and too much concerned with its own problems.

PRIVATE warfare being thus limited to attacks on the inoffensive peasants who did not retort in kind, the embryo barons of Egypt had no occasion, as in Europe, for castle building. Serfdom also was confined to the agricultural workers; the skilled craftsmen were organised in guilds, and municipal institutions persisted in the towns. Accordingly the semi-feudal estates did not aim at economic self-sufficiency.

IN so far as there was an economic justification of the large estates in the public interest, it arose from the dependence of the crops on the effective maintenance of the irrigation system, a service beyond the powers equally of the peasantry and of a weak and corrupt alien government. When the Arab conquest established an independent state in Egypt, the large estates disappeared.

G. S.

THE SCENERY OF ENGLAND : by Vaughan Cornish. The C.P.R.E. (3s. 6d. net.)

"THE preservation of rural England is fundamentally an urban problem," writes Lord Crawford and Balcarres in his foreword. It is well that we should look this fact in the face. The countryside exists as scenery only for the townsman; for the countryman it is so much raw material. The townsman goes to the country for a change in his leisure hours; the countryman has no leisure hours, or just enough to do the week-end shopping or the weekly market. The townsman is a sightseer, and the countryman part of that sight.

FOR the English therefore, being a nation of townsmen, the amenity value of Rural England is of paramount importance, and any steps taken to preserve its beauties intact should receive nothing but blessings. The C.P.R.E.

is tackling this work with increasing success, and the publication under review is part of their campaign. But the purely æsthetic appreciation of scenery is a gift of culture. Only the highly sophisticated mind can achieve this. For the general body of tourists there must be a suggestion of the dramatic, Cheddar Gorge or the sentimental Melrose by moonlight, or else some association such as Shakespeare's with Stratford.

ON the other hand, there is a growing appreciation of the open air side of a country holiday, and this is probably one of the most hopeful symptoms in our great urban development. Through the movement visible in the Boy Scout and Rambler's organisations, there is a renewed contact with nature, without which northern mankind seems to lose its vitality. For these people, therefore, an appreciation of landscape from the scientific and historical aspect must add greatly to their powers of enjoyment.

IT is a little to be feared that Dr. Cornish's book is above the heads of the general public; yet it is to the general public that the C.P.R.E. must appeal.

LET the C.P.R.E. help to organise local surveys, particularly by the school children, so that the coming generation may be given the chance of understanding and appreciating their surroundings, and a public opinion be created which will reinforce in increasing numbers the ranks of the lovers of the countryside. That is the real way to preserve rural England.

G. C.

INTERNATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT: A STUDY OF FLUCTUATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, 1910-1930. International Industrial Relations Institute. (H.Fl. 3.50.)

IN these studies contributed to the World Social Economic Congress, Amsterdam, August, 1931, the emphasis is upon fluctuations, not merely extent of unemployment.

THE data brought together establish these fluctuations clearly as characteristic of the economic life of countries as different as Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Russia in the pre-war period and in the disturbed condition following the revolution. Only the Russia of the Soviets in the present seems to have broken from the influences which have plunged all the other countries simultaneously into the deepest depression in the history of their statistical records; while in Russia the problem is the reverse—a shortage of labour. China, with its lack of statistics and its differences in degrees of industrialisation, cannot be precisely compared with other countries, but the evidence brought together shows essentially the same problem of insecurity of livelihood.

THE list of countries analysed is of course incomplete. They are chosen as illustrative of the problem, not to give an all-inclusive picture of the nations. For a country entering upon industrialisation like China, for areas of surplus, such as the United States and Canada, for regions dependent upon the market for raw materials, as in Australia, for highly developed industrial areas such as Great Britain and Germany, and even for the uniquely balanced economic life of France, insecurity in the opportunity to earn a living, of which recurrent unemployment is the symptom, is an established fact.

THE volume has 480 pages and includes a large number of valuable tables and charts.

SOZIOLOGIE : GESCHICHTE UND HAUPTPROBLEME : by L. von Wiese. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig. 1931. (1.80 mk.)

THIS pocket volume (No. 101 in the useful Sammlung Goschen) is the second edition of a book that first appeared in similar format in 1926. It is the most handy and useful short introduction to the subject in German, and deserves to be widely known in this country. The first edition was translated into English on the initiative of Professor De Grange of Dartmouth College and published by the Sociological Press at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1928. A Japanese translation has also appeared.

THIS second edition shows many changes and improvements. Chapter I. (Introduction) is now an able exposition of the position of sociology as an independent science. Chapter VI., formerly given up to American Sociology alone, now deals adequately with recent British developments: the author includes L. T. Hobhouse, G. Wallas, Victor Branford, Patrick Geddes and the Le Play School. Chapter VII. treats sociology in France since the death of Comte (part of the material being transferred from Chapter VIII. of the 1st edition): Chapter VIII. is given to an account of the earlier (encyclo-pædic) sociology in Germany: Chapter IX. covers the field of recent German sociology: Chapter X. gives an outline of the theory of social relations that the author has developed (following Simmel) with much thought as the central feature of his own system. The matter in these chapters is in the main transferred from Chapters VII., VIII., and IX. of the first edition.

STUDENTS in this country will perhaps find the account of German Sociology the most interesting part of the book. The summary of the theory of social relations is too short to do its subject justice: it will however send students to Professor von Wiese's much more important work *ALLGEMEINE SOCIOLOGIE* (2 vols., Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig) where a full treatment is given. An English adaptation of the *ALLGEMEINE SOCIOLOGIE* is shortly to be published, and will give an opportunity for a full examination of the theory in these pages.

A.F.

THE INCIDENCE OF WORK SHORTAGE: Report of a Survey Made by Sample of Families in New Haven, Connecticut in May-June, 1931: by Margaret H. Hogg. Russell Sage Foundation. 1932. (\$2.50.)

THIS book is based on a detailed study of unemployment made by sampling of families in New Haven, Connecticut. The study was supervised by Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin, director of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, and had the co-operation of the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

It differs from many other unemployment surveys in its emphasis on technique, offering an exact description and a thorough testing of the sampling process and ample discussion of other problems of procedure. It is demonstrated that the sampling method, while requiring a relatively small amount of field work, yields greater statistical accuracy than that obtained in many larger surveys.

AMONG the more surprising conclusions of this particular study is the finding that unskilled work was much less reduced by depression conditions than work of skilled or semi-skilled nature. Unskilled workers have nevertheless the highest rate of unemployment because of the invasion of their field by the semi-skilled and skilled whose usual work is gone. Information such as this, revealing the nature of occupational shifts during a period of unemployment, has not been secured by any previous survey.

SEELENGLAUBE AND PSYCHOLOGIE: by Otto Rank. Franz Deuticke, Leipzig & Vienna. 1930. (10 R.M.)

IN this book of less than 200 pages the eminent author has set forth the final conclusions of a devoted worker in psychology and psychoanalysis as to the basis and philosophic implications of his studies. These conclusions are obviously the product of long and mature reflection: the note of disillusionment that is heard in all Freud's work is entirely absent from them. It is to be hoped that they will secure widespread attention.

BEGINNING with some general discussion of knowledge of self and of others, and the implications of these ideas, the author proceeds to an extremely interesting quasi-historical treatment of his main subject, basing this throughout upon his studies of primitive life, myths, legends, and literary material. The key to the whole is perhaps given in the sentence on page 13 which runs, translated:—"Psychology was in origin the creation of the soul in the Animistic Age, next the self description of the soul in the Religious Age, and became at last the recognition of the individual soul in the Scientific Age."

FROM this quasi-historical treatment Dr. Rank passes to a discussion of the relations between dream and reality, between soul and will, between nature and spirit—his use of psychological methods and ideas being throughout very fresh and suggestive.

FOR the literary critic the book also has an appeal. Those who do not yet know Dr. Rank's work in this field should turn to what he says of Shakespeare (p. 63 onwards), particularly his interpretation of Hamlet.

MAN'S QUEST FOR SOCIAL GUIDANCE: the Study of Social Problems: by H. W. Odum. Holt, New York, 1927.

THE American Social Science Series, of which this is one volume, is notable for its emphasis on the relations between social theory and practical problems. This relation is the keynote of Prof. Odum's book, which attempts to provide a background of theory against which the main problems of social life in the present may be seen in correct proportions as a preparation for endeavours towards their solution. As the author is also aiming at the simplicity needed in a college text-book, it is only fair to take that into account in any criticism.

THE total result is very different from anything that has yet appeared in this country: it is none the less valuable and interesting. Almost the whole range of social problems is covered: each is stated simply and without bias: there are useful book-lists: and the suggestions on future policy under each heading are generally admirable. It would be possible for a college student to use the book as his (or her) sole source of information, with a superficial result: it is just as likely however that the reader will be led to explore further and make the book a starting point for radical examination of problems.

ATTENTION may perhaps be drawn specially to the chapters on The Negro, The Family, Problems of Country Life, and Social Planning: all unpretentious straightforward introductions to their subjects. Such a treatment is perhaps beyond us in Great Britain; we are too much politicians and party men.

SOME VITAL PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE WORKING-CLASS POPULATION OF BOMBAY: by G. S. Ghurye and S. K. Deshpande (reprinted from the *INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS*), gives some incidental results of an enquiry into infant mortality in Bombay. The average age of mother at birth of first child was 18.5 years, at birth of last child, 28.3 years: the average interval between births was 2.8 years: the average fertility per woman was 4.4. The figures suggest that reproductive capacity ceases at age 35.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

SLUMS, LARGE SCALE HOUSING, AND DECENTRALISATION. NEGRO HOUSING. HOUSING AND THE COMMUNITY. HOUSE REPAIR AND RE- MODELLING.

President's Conference on House Building and Home Ownership, Washington D.C., 1932. (Each \$1.15.)

THESE are Vols. III., VI. and VIII. of the Reports issued by the President's Conference. They reveal that Conference as a landmark in the history of Housing in the United States: and each of them is an interesting and informing summary of its subject. They are well produced, with good illustrations, and their conclusions strike an outsider as sane and well reasoned.

SLUMS, LARGE-SCALE HOUSING, AND DECENTRALISATION contains that part of the complete programme to raise the standard of American housing, formulated by the President's Conference at its meeting in Washington last December, which deals with the reform of past errors in housing. The reports of four of the thirty-one Conference Committees are included, namely those on Blighted Areas and Slums, Large-Scale Operations, Business and Housing, and Industrial Decentralisation and Housing.

THE business and professional men who made up these committees condemn slums as economic burdens. "Slums cost money. They are the most expensive form of housing known, and it is the community that pays for them." Thus the matter is phrased in an introduction by the editors, Dr. John M. Gries and Dr. James Ford. "It is no gesture of charity to better the standards of housing of our poorer neighbours, for we all pay cash—in taxes for utilities and for police and fire protection, in the high cost of fire insurance, in the depreciation of adjoining property values, and in social welfare work—for low standards of housing in any part of the community. However great the cost of wiping out slums, it is not so great as the cost of maintaining them."

BUT business can earn money as well as save it by eliminating slums, in the opinion of the authors of this volume. The millions of Americans who live in slums, blighted areas, and substandard dwellings represent an immense consuming power for adequate housing within their means. The product of the small-scale construction methods of the present day costs too much, but the Committee on Large-Scale Operations believes that the application to housing of the technique and energy that have produced skyscrapers and modern factories would reduce the cost of dwellings sufficiently to house at least another 10 per cent. of the population suitably.

It is pointed out, however, that the production of less-expensive housing will not alone solve the entire problem, for existing slum buildings must first be demolished and parcels of land extensive enough to permit large-scale construction must be obtained. These requirements will often involve expenditures and legal difficulties too great for private business unaided to undertake or solve. The solution suggested, therefore, is a partnership between private business and municipalities. Such a partnership is now being attempted in Newark, New Jersey, where the Prudential Life Insurance Company has bought up an entire block of tenements. It proposes to sell back to the city the interior of the block to be made into a public park, while itself building good quality dwellings around the outer edge of the block. In New York governmental co-operation has consisted in tax exemption for a period of years to limited dividend companies that build dwellings to rent for sums not exceeding a modest amount per room.

THE alternative to private enterprise in the solution of the slum problem suggested in this volume is government subsidy to housing. Secretary Wilbur, of the Department of the Interior, in a foreword, says: "Unless business men and business groups accept the challenge, housing by public authority is inevitable."

THE authors of the volume on Negro Housing were a committee of representative civic leaders of the Negro race, of which Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, President, National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D.C., was chairman, and Charles S. Johnson, Director, Department of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, was Secretary.

THE volume points out that the heavy migration of rural Negroes to cities has greatly intensified the social problems connected with housing. In New York city alone the Negro population increased from 91,709 in 1910 to 327,706 in 1930. This rapid increase has not been accompanied by a corresponding expansion of Negro neighbourhoods. The result is serious overcrowding. An illustration is found in Philadelphia where the density of the Negro population is nearly five times as great as the density for the city as a whole. The Negro is powerless to help this overcrowding. His low income permits him no choice of homes, and racial factors make it difficult for him to move out of these restricted areas even when he can afford to.

INSUFFICIENT housing causes high rents. The volume quotes a study to show that the average rental per room for housing of low-income groups in New York is \$6.67 whereas for Negroes it is \$9.50. Low income and high rents force mothers to work and lead to the taking in of lodgers, which in turn increases overcrowding and reduces family privacy, with consequent evil effects. Forty per cent. of the Negro one-family households in a part of Chicago in 1925 were found to be taking in lodgers.

THE areas into which Negroes move are usually old and the houses dilapidated. A study of Negro housing in Richmond, Virginia, showed that "at least half of the dwellings are in various stages of dilapidation; that less than one of every eight houses has plumbing facilities inside the house; that but one in three has a water connection inside the house; and that 14 per cent. have neither kitchen nor bathroom." The greater the isolation of Negro sections says the report, the greater the neglect of them by municipalities so that they are generally inadequately served by public utilities.

THE volume emphasises the hardship worked by the fact that Negro families are often squeezed into areas that are not adequate in size nor in variety of accommodation for their needs. Perhaps the worst aspect of this situation is that it forces Negroes of all tastes and economic ability into an association which is neither natural nor generally wholesome.

As a cause of disease and degeneracy, poor housing is, according to the authors of *HOUSING AND THE COMMUNITY*, inextricably bound up with poverty, ignorance, vice, and uncleanness, and it is often not possible to isolate the effect of any single one of these factors. Also the evil effects of housing are said to be often indirect. Thus tuberculosis, although called a "house disease," is spread by contact within the house and may be a result of overcrowding as well as of the poor physical condition of the house.

THE same intangibility of relationship exists, says the report, between housing and delinquency. An intensive study of delinquency in Chicago led the committee to conclude that "delinquency is concentrated in the areas of bad housing and is associated with a complex of conditions, of which bad housing is only one. There is no sufficient reason for believing that an appreciable reduction in delinquency rates will result from improvement of individual houses if other things remain unchanged." The specific solution proposed by the committee is the development of improved housing in neighbourhood units, which provide not only for suitable dwellings but for their separation from factories, railroads, and commercial areas, for playgrounds and schools, and for freedom from traffic dangers.

OF 99,000 accidental deaths annually in the United States, 30,000 occur in the home, the report states, thus nearly equalling the 33,000 deaths caused by motor accidents. Among the causes of these fatal accidents falls rank first and fires second. As corrective measures to reduce these fatalities, the report gives detailed advice to builders on the construction of homes, and to home makers on the management of the home and on the use of appliances in the home. A list of materials for an emergency red-cross kit is included. This section of the volume fills a gap in the essential practical education of every individual which is usually neglected.

VOLUME TEN of the *GUIDE TO CURRENT OFFICIAL STATISTICS* (price 1s. net, post free 1s. 5d.) has just been issued, and may be obtained direct from the sale offices of H.M. Stationery Office or through any bookseller. The Guide contains not only a list of the titles and prices of the statistical volumes issued by each Government Department, but also an alphabetical index of their contents, with particulars of the degree of detail in which the subject is treated and the time and place to which the statistics relate.

THE Permanent Consultative Committee is to be congratulated upon the achievement of their tenth issue—a benefit to all social students.

PAX CERERIS: by Cesare Longobardi. Schindler, Cairo, 1932.

A SHORT history, in pamphlet form, of the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, with an account of the present organisation and work of the Sections of the Institute. The author is one of the leading statisticians of the Institute, and there is a short introduction by Professoec Ricci, who was responsible for giving the statistical work of the Institute its original form.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

RECENT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS.

PRICE FIXING IN NEW ZEALAND : by William B. Sutch (\$3.00) gives an account of the efforts to insure low prices to the consumer and fair profits to the producer during the War and the decade following the War. New Zealand's activities in operating the sugar-refining works, in importing and guaranteeing the price of wheat and in controlling the flour mills have not only a topical but a permanent interest. There are chapters on the control of butter, cement, building supplies and various household commodities, with a critical evaluation of each control undertaken. An appendix is devoted to charts showing the course of prices of controlled and uncontrolled products; these are compared with wage rates and the cost of living. **SHORTER HOURS** : by Marion C. Cahill (\$4.50) is a history of the progress toward reduction of hours accomplished through legislative action, trade union action, and voluntary action by the employer. **TRADE UNION POLICIES in the Massachusetts Shoe Industry, 1919-1929** : by Thomas L. Norton (\$5.00) gives an interpretation of the position, organisation, aims, and policies of workers in the Massachusetts shoe industry as it fits into the picture of workers' conditions in all modern industry. Because of the reliance which this industry has placed upon arbitration, Professor Norton examines in detail its advantages and disadvantages.

SEA ISLAND TO CITY : by Clyde V. Kiser (\$3.50) is a study of Negro migration from St. Helena Island (S. Carolina). Large numbers of Negroes have come directly from this placid rural island to the feverish and congested existence of Harlem. Many problems follow such an abrupt transition in mode of life. Urban conditions of employment, of housing and family life, and of law and order, of health and sanitation, and of the whole round of leisure time activities are vastly different from those found in a rural area. The author has studied a specific selected group of Negroes in their island community and later in Savannah, Charleston, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. This "case analysis" of Negro migration is a key to the sounder understanding of the causes, operation, and results of the drift from farms to cities which is a conspicuous feature of modern life. In **THE DEPORTATION OF ALIENS** : by Jane Clark (\$5.00) the author explains the law that governs deportation and the various reasons for "undesirability," such as "moral turpitude," "liable to become a public charge," radical activity, &c. She then describes the border situation from personal experience, and the various means of "illegal entry" into the country. The actual process of deportation is explained, from the apprehension and arrest of the alien to the final arrival in Europe. There is an abundance of case stories showing who may be deported and how this may be done. **AMERICAN DIVORCE** : by Alfred Cahen (\$2.25) analyses the statistical evidence related to the fivefold increase in the divorce rate of the United States from the Civil War to the present time. It demonstrates that changes in marriage and divorce legislation, divorces of couples migrating from one state to another, and the desire for remarriage are not principal causes of increasing divorce. More than one marriage in every six terminates in divorce and the probability of divorce is about nine times as great for the childless couple as for the married family with children. **PROSTITUTION AND ITS REPRESSION IN NEW YORK CITY** : by Willoughby C. Waterman (\$3.00) is an attempt to show the changes in dealing with the problem of prostitution in New York City which have occurred during the past 30 years. The author traces the revision of laws and police methods tending to bring all forms of prostitution within the definition of vagrancy and hence subject to the jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Courts. He also examines the influence of privately organised groups of citizens interested in prostitution repression, analysing their methods and evaluating their effectiveness.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN NATIONAL COURTS : by Ruth D. Masters (\$3.75) analyses constitutions and court decisions in Germany, Switzerland, France and Belgium (here for the first time made readily available to the American student and lawyer). The author discusses the constitutional requirements in each of the four countries for the conclusion and enforcement of treaties in its courts, the right of the national judge to interpret treaties, his attitude towards conflicts between international law and the law of the state under whose authority he sits, and the current theories of continental European writers on the relation between international law and municipal law. In **THE RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA** (\$4.25) Mrs. Trenholme, a former associate professor of history at North Carolina College for Women, shows the conditions which kept North Carolina from participating in the establishment of the federal government—the fear of centralisation for example (later to some extent justified by the course of events just prior to 1861), a strong adherence to Thomas Jefferson's early and already discarded views of the Constitution, the conflicting views of Baptists and Presbyterians on the one hand and Episcopalians on the other. She demonstrates Carolina's influence in the ratification of the first

ten amendments, and traces the forces that later brought North Carolina into the Union. **BROOKHART CAMPAIGNS IN IOWA: 1920-1926**: by Jerry A. Neprash (\$2.25) is a thoroughgoing and detailed statistical study of a series of political campaigns, and is said to be the only study ever made of the campaigns of a single senatorial candidate. According to the author a vote for Brookhart was the Iowa farmer's protest against his economic plight.

IN SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION IN THE 18TH CENTURY: by Philip Shorr (\$1.50) the author examines the treatment of science in two representative eighteenth century encyclopedias: **CHAMBERS' CYCLOPEDIA**, published in London in 1728, and **ZEDLER'S UNIVERSAL LEXICON**, published in Leipzig in 1732-50. This study, considered with Professor Lynn Thorndike's analysis of **DIDEROT'S ENCYCLOPÉDIE**, is a key to the habits of thought in the "enlightened" eighteenth century in England, Germany and France. **THE GRAND SOCIAL ENTERPRISE**: by Elmer L. Kayser (\$2.00) is a study of the work of Jeremy Bentham. Bentham's first great work appeared in 1776, and he died one day before the Great Reform Bill received the royal assent. During more than a half century of political theorising, Bentham evolved an amazingly complete system for the organisation of the liberal state and the maintenance of the liberal ideal among nations. To work toward the fulfilment of this aim in all the internal and external relations of the state was to him the Grand Social Enterprise.

FRANCE AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION: by Carl L. Lokke (\$3.75) deals with the period 1763 to 1801. It is a record, from contemporary writings, of how the French lost and regained faith in themselves as a colonising nation from the period of the Seven Years' War, when they lost vast areas in America and Asia, to the successful occupation and administration of Egypt. This study of French public opinion concerning oversea expansion shows the germination of the ideas underlying the present French colonial empire, the second largest in the world. **THE FRENCH RACE**: by Jacques Barzun (\$4.25) treats such problems as: Why did the old French nobility believe itself descended from the German barbarians? How did the feeling of inferiority on the part of the "Gallo-Roman" bourgeoisie affect governmental changes in France to the time of the Revolution? How far have these conflicting race-beliefs embittered French historiography; and in what way are French race theories related to the world-wide "Nordic" myth? The work is at once the narrative of a long social controversy, a critical account of changing conceptions of national history in France, and as a discussion of the prejudices of certain political writers. **THE LIFE AND TIMES OF COLONEL RICHARD M. JOHNSON OF KENTUCKY**: by Leland W. Meyer (\$5.00) deals with the ninth Vice-President of the United States. Colonel Johnson was the champion of education, of Western exploration and development, a friend of the Indian, of Labour, and of the unfortunate everywhere. The author is a member of the Department of History at Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky.

WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS: by Marius Hansome (\$5.00) is based upon an analysis of annual reports of sixty workers' educational associations distributed over twenty-three countries, on personal observations and interviews in seven countries, on attendance at workers' educational institutions and conferences, and on ten years of experience in teaching adult classes. The study is competent and timely.

PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL HEALTH AND DISEASE: by Alice Raven. Golden Vista Press.

This little book deserves the attention of everyone who thinks that psychology has a bearing upon how to live. It aims at giving an introduction to individual and social psychology based upon the teaching of Freud, Adler, and Jung. By "principles" the author seems to mean the chief forms of activity that occupy the mind in health and disease. She is concerned not only to define these forms, but to show how they work out in action: and the book thus sheds light upon criminality and other anti-social activities. It is throughout moderate in tone; if anything it is overcrowded with thought; but that is a fault on the right side.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION for 1930 (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1931) has the usual General Appendix of scientific papers. Several of these, e.g., Richarz, "The Age of the Human Race," and Ward, "The Climatisation of the White Race in the Tropics," are of interest to sociologists.

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300 CAREERS FOR WOMEN: by Vyrnwy Biscoe: with an Introduction by The Rt. Hon. Margaret Bondfield, J.P., LL.D. Lovat Dickson Ltd., 1932. (2s. 6d.)

THE best possible review of this book is in Miss Bondfield's Foreword, in which she commends it to all who are seeking the starting point of careers for the young generation. The quality of our civilisation is affected both by the right employment of hours of work and the right use of leisure. The choice of employment for the rising generation, says Miss Bondfield, must be regarded first as the opportunity to fit oneself to give service, rather than to make money, or to get a safe and sheltered job. Preliminary qualifications and adaptability are thus recognised as important factors in the trainee. "A scientific bent: sensitive, nimble fingers," for the chiropodist. "Only those genuinely interested in the lives of the poor should take up this work" (C.O.S.). Or again: "The chaperon should be a fluent linguist, highly cultured, with a good knowledge of architecture, history, drama, and archæology."

THE author was induced to collect data for this book in response to the dozens of letters from parents she daily receives at the vocational bureau with which she is connected. A bewildered helplessness seizes on the parents of a girl desiring training for a career other than that of teaching. Where should she apply? How much will training cost? What are the prospects? Will she be able to earn her living at it? All most sensible, necessary enquiries, which the author bears in mind in the compilation of this practical guide to the choice of careers for women. The facts have been obtained from most reliable sources: both employer and employee have been asked for their point of view: leading people in their several professions, government departments, captains of industry, as well as artisans and clerks in small offices, have contributed useful information and advice. Out of the mass of material collected a very useful compendium has been made.

THE arrangement is alphabetical, from Accountancy to Y.W.C.A. work. Each section in clear type has its headings and sub-headings, e.g., cost and length of training, age to begin, preliminary qualifications, scholarships, prospects, remuneration, and publications. In cases where little is known by the general public of women's work in a particular branch (e.g., prison service) there is an additional section giving full details of the nature of the work. In spite of some prejudices still existing with regard to the employment of women, most barriers are now removed. Women may, for example, become assistants, aeronauts, almoners, auctioneers, barristers, chauffeuses, deaconesses, dentists, detectives, furriers, journalists, librarians, ministers of religion, opticians, osteopaths, politicians, radiographers, solicitors, statisticians, stage managers, tea-tasters, tour conductors, veterinary surgeons, and so on. The most promising careers at the moment appear to be those connected with hotel management: the most precarious, broadcasting. One criticism we offer. The Teaching section does not give information as to Training College or University posts—or even W.E.A. work: and surely few post-graduates are as young as 19 when they take up their professional training.

THE author has done good service by producing this book. It should help round pegs to avoid square holes. But the author is not negative in suggestion. On the contrary, she says: "Every aid must be sought for and dug out with energy and perseverance, for the signs are not hung up for all to read. The race is to the persistent. I can wish my readers no greater joy than the possession of a job which absorbs their energies and kindles their enthusiasm." D.P.

CAMPS AND TOURS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS: by C. A. Harrison (Publications Dept., Bournville Works, 6d.), is an illustrated account of schemes worked during the past 30 years by or in connection with the Cadbury firm. The schemes combine holiday making and study, and in some respects enter the field of educational surveys. The booklet is of great value to educational and club workers.

IN THE HEART OF SOUTH LONDON: by C. F. Garbett, D.D., Bishop of Southwark. Longmans, 1931. (Paper, 3s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a popular but careful picture of the social problems of South London: problems of child life, poverty, overcrowding, bad housing, slums: with indications as to what the Church is doing to help.

OURSELVES AND THE COMMUNITY: by E. E. Reynolds. Cambridge University Press. (268 pp. 5s.)

CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE: by Irene L. Plunket, revised with additions by N. Peacock. Oxford University Press. (204 pp. 2s. 4d.)

THE sociologist sighs as he looks upon the books that are written on one department of his field, that of Civics, and wishes that the writers realised that being a Citizen is an interesting experience, and that Civics, like Milton's "divine philosophy," is a subject

"Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute."

AND the sociologist sighs again as he reflects that this very quotation, given in reference to Civics, will cause a slight shock of surprise to the reader.

THE usual books on Civics are excellent manuals of information, and the two here reviewed fall into this category. In *OURSELVES AND THE COMMUNITY* the author tells of the powers of Local Authorities, the National Constitution, the British Commonwealth, and the League of Nations. It is all very well done; the chapters are carefully compiled, with statistics, and are quite reliable and up-to-date. For an examination the book would be of great use, as the matter is systematically arranged, and there is an appendix of questions, an Index, and a list of books for further study. It fulfils the purpose of the author, which was "to supply a conspectus of political and social organisation, local, central, and international."

MISS PLUNKET's book is a revision of her former one, and is meant for younger students. But it is rather out-of-date in implying that poverty is the individual person's own fault, and that those women are most successful who obtain employment in what was formerly only man's sphere. There are good sections on Captain Cook, and on the League of Nations. It is a pity that the authors of the many pieces of poetry quoted in the text are not named.

IN neither of the books would the student find evidence of the basic fact about a citizen—that he is the inheritor of a great civilising process. He is the product of the past, and the agent of the future; and books on Civics should inspire him with the sense of service. Mere information will not do this. Some feeling of what might be called Romance must be kindled; and that can only be done by a recital of history—that is, the evolution of all that touches the citizen's everyday life and far-away dreams. The information is secondary to the inspiration, in the growth of a valuable citizenship.

E.M.W.

THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND OTHER ESSAYS: by George Pratt Insh. The Educational Institute of Scotland. 1932.

DR. INSH has here collected in one volume twelve of his short essays written for the *QUARTERLY BULLETIN* of the Educational Institute of Scotland and other periodicals. Except for one entitled "Ower the Border," which takes a coach route through the Cheviots to Newcastle and on by train to York, the scenes depicted are all in Scotland. Sheriffmuir battlefield with its Gathering Stone on the bleak upland: the silhouette of Tinto End, "the Sphinx brooding over Clydesdale": Crawick Glen, rich in historical associations: the Cauld Stone Slap, that old drove road across the Pentlands and ancient highway between West Lothian and Tweedside: Port Seton with its "trim houses and snug harbour": the wild solitude of Enterkin Pass—these are his essay subjects.

BUT the most important contribution to the series is the essay on the Study of Local History. This is not to be treated as a class-room subject: the work must be done in the field itself. Dr. Insh insists that the history of Scotland can only be worked out satisfactorily by a method of intensive survey in small regional units. The past must be read through the present, the present must lead back to the past. His method would be for each local area to tackle the problem of its history, assemble all materials, classify them, and finally link up synthetically the history of a particular region with the parallel history of all the other regions to form a National History of Scotland.

REMAINS and records would be studied as evidences. Oral tradition would be noted and checked by information from other sources. Dr. Insh specially recommends that reference be made to the Old Statistical Account (1791-1799), which gives in the form of a survey provided by the parish ministers a precise and vivid picture of every parish in Scotland in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. A second stocktaking appears in the New Statistical Account between 1830 and 1840, even more carefully worked out than the first, giving a definite picture of the Scottish shires about the middle of the 19th century.

THIS history of the Scots people would be thoroughly sociological, worked up on survey methods. We should much like to see it done and wish Dr. Insh all success with his scheme.

D.P.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

THE third number of *SOCIOLOGUS* (the new title of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*), edited by R. Thurnwald, and published by C. L. Hirschfeld, Leipzig, and G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, deserves a note of commendation. The journal has set itself the task of analysing and determining present-day social forces.

ARTICLES and reviews are in German and English. Prof. L. L. Bernard (Washington University) writes an historical survey of American social psychology; Prof. A. J. Todd (Northwestern University) reports on measures to combat unemployment in the United States; and Prof. Robert Redfield writes about Maya Archaeology as the Maya see it.

BESIDES these English essays are two German ones by Dr. Otto Neurath (Vienna) on Social Behaviourism; and by Prof. Richard Müller-Freienfels (Pedagogical Academy, Stettin) on the Sociology of Truth.

WE may also draw attention to the review section dealing with recent publications in the whole field of sociology and allied subjects. No other periodical devotes so much space to such reviews.

A DETECTIVE IN SUSSEX: by Donald Maxwell. John Lane. (6s. net.)

MR. MAXWELL has a racy style which makes his argument at once interesting and readily intelligible. His stage is in East Sussex and upon it he and his friend Brown have many a lively exchange of views, our author leaving no doubt as to who is in the right: indeed the authors of *PLACE NAMES OF SUSSEX*, on certain points, are criticised. That Seaford means sea fjord, not "what it says" is the view taken by Mr. H. G. Romer as well as by Mr. Maxwell.

THE volume is to be recommended to all who love the country intelligently: the use of the map is advised and the author's own sketch maps and illustrations are both pleasing and helpful. A similar volume on West Sussex should prove as interesting and is to be desired.

SLAVERY: Report of the Committee of Experts appointed by the League of Nations. Allen & Unwin, 1932. (1s. 3d.)

THIS authoritative document summarises the position of slaves and slave systems throughout the world. The status of slaves, slave raiding, slave trade, and domestic servitude are among the chief subjects dealt with: the transition to free-wage labour is considered, and many suggestions are made for improving the present situation in various countries.

THE report, like nearly all other League reports, has the defects inseparable from League methods: it cannot be as openly critical as is desirable in such a matter as slavery, and its sources of information are in many respects controlled by the governments and agencies under criticism. The document is however an honest and successful attempt to do all that can be done under these conditions.

SHIFTING EMPHASIS IN CASE-WORK: THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW-POINT: by F. B. Harper, is a reprint of an article from the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES*, Vol. IX., No. 4. The title describes the contents, which are of special interest to psychiatric care workers.

THE PRISON SYSTEM IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC (Ministry of Justice, Prague, 1930), is an illustrated summary account of its subject, giving most space to State Convict Prisons and Reformatories. Full statistics of all prisons are included.

LE PLAY HOUSE NOTES AND NEWS.

FAREWELLS.

IN recent months the Institute of Sociology has lost by death six good friends to whose past services some small tribute is here due.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR GRAHAM WALLAS died on 10th August. He was an original member of the Sociological Society, and an active member of its Council for many years after its foundation. In recent years, and particularly since his retirement from University teaching, he had fallen out of active contact with the Institute: but he was always ready to listen with interest to news of its activities. His services to social studies of the wider type are generally known and need not be set out here: although he rarely used the word sociology, much of his work is in spirit and outlook essentially sociological.

G. LOWES DICKINSON, who died on 3rd August, was also in close contact with the early work of the Sociological Society and frequently took part in its meetings. Many members will be able to recall the charm and distinction of his manner and speech. His written work—though that also was not professedly sociological—has had a profound influence on the social thinking of many of this generation.

SIR BERNARD MALLET died on 28th October. He was not a member of the Institute; but he did it good service in connection with the International Exhibition of Social Work in Paris in 1928. The British section of that Exhibition was organised by Le Play House: without the support given by Sir Bernard and his colleagues in the Charity Organisation Society it could not have been carried through. He took a similar interest in the International Conference this year and travelled to Frankfurt with one of the groups organised by the Institute.

MR. JOSEPH KITCHIN, who died on 3rd July, had in recent years shown a keen and increasing interest in the Institute. He was widely known as a colleague of Sir Henry Strakosch in the Union Corporation, and a most able statistician. At Le Play House he was best known as a member of the Survey working party that visited Chester in 1928: he was one of the most valued workers, giving the group the full benefit of his statistical ability, and joining with simplicity and good fellowship in all the activities.

MR. E. S. HORNIMAN was the son of the founder of the Horniman Museum, and had been a member of the Institute for many years before his death on 11th July.

PROFESSOR G. BALDWIN BROWN, whose death occurred on 12th July, was a valued friend and correspondent, deeply interested in the relation of social life to æsthetic achievement.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE. Final arrangements for the Annual Conference this year have been held over pending the completion of the procedure for the incorporation of the Institute. The incorporation will necessarily bring about certain changes in Officers and Committees and will impose certain legal obligations with regard to the holding of Annual General Meetings. It will also be the occasion of considerable changes in the finance of the Institute. For these reasons it has been thought well to postpone fixing dates and times until there could be no doubt of keeping to these. A communication will be issued to all members and friends as soon as arrangements have been made.

FIELD STUDY MEETINGS. The series of Vacation Meetings for Field Study at home and abroad which have been held regularly since Le Play House was opened in 1920 is being continued during the coming year. Arrangements at Easter next include meetings in Guernsey and at Lancaster: details of both will be announced shortly.

STUDY GROUP FOR SOCIAL WORKERS. This Group was formed last year for studies preparatory to the Second International Conference on Social Work. It has now been reconstituted for further studies on similar lines: a preliminary meeting to discuss arrangements for the year was held at Le Play House on 22nd November. Anyone interested in Social Work who would care to join the Group should communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Miss Gwynne, 39B Matheson Road, W.14.

REPORTS OF RECENT EVENTS.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WORK, FRANKFORT-ON-MAIN, JULY 10TH-14TH, 1932. This Conference was announced in the last issue of *NOTES AND NEWS*. In spite of difficulties caused by the economic situation it took place as announced. Over 30 countries were represented and over 800 delegates attended. Any attempt at a detailed account would be out of place here, but it may not be inappropriate to give a condensed summary of results and impressions.

The subject chosen for the Conference was **THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL WORK**. This choice proved to be timely and generally acceptable: social workers everywhere were feeling a need for a rediscussion of family life in relation to post-war problems and changes.

EARNEST efforts had been made to organise the Conference so that discussions would be full and representative. Two sessions were General (i.e. for all members). The rest of the work was done in six separate Commissions, the meetings of which were concurrent. Much care and thought had been given to arranging for leading speakers, secondary speakers, and other participants at the General meetings and in the Commissions. The arrangements were in this respect undoubtedly much better than those at the first Conference at Paris. On the other hand one main result was that discussion in the proper sense of the word hardly took place. Nearly all the speakers had prepared their speeches in written form weeks (if not months) beforehand, and necessarily without relation to the ideas of others. The audiences at all meetings therefore found placed before them a medley of facts, opinions, and suggestions that it seemed impossible to co-ordinate, and thus any vital ideas tended to be lost.

It would, however, be ungracious not to recognise the value of a large number of the papers read at the Conference. Individually many of them reached a very high standard, and all interested in keeping their knowledge of social work up to date should look forward to the issue of the *REPORT* of the Conference, which will contain the papers in full.

CERTAIN broad conclusions seemed to emerge. While no one could fail to recognise the superficial similarities between social work of the same types in almost all countries to-day, the existence of deep differences of spirit and outlook was equally evident. Tradition, local and national, obviously counts for as much in social work as in other fields. In no respect was this more noticeable than in the attitude to State social service held by speakers from different countries. Protestant or rationalist speakers from Continental Europe seemed to assume the State as the necessary foundation for organised social effort. French Catholic speakers stated once again with characteristic clarity and rhetoric the basic antithesis between Church and State, and their complete lack of faith in State social service; while British and American speakers seemed to hold to an ill-defined conception of society as behind and superior to State organisation. It was, however, noticeable that American faith in voluntary action seemed to be rapidly weakening before the onset of the economic blizzard. Many social workers from the United States could see no resource outside widespread State assistance to meet the needs of the coming winter.

AN impartial observer could not but note one point that recurred in many of the discussions. Social workers all over the world have become radical critics of the present economic system. No serious examination of that system or of proposed changes in it was attempted; but it was clear that the occurrences of the last two or three years and their reactions as experienced in social work had made a deep impression and had caused a widespread change of view.

As for the Family, it emerged from the Conference (if a humorous statement may be permitted) without a stain on its character. There was no failure to face the changing situation caused by widespread increase of state social services and voluntary social efforts. No group, however, seriously argued that in this new situation the Family had lost its usefulness: the value of co-operation between family and other agencies was the prevailing note. At the same time the existence of large numbers of families unable to stand alone even with the assistance of modern social services was present in the minds of many speakers.

At such a gathering apart from the main official activities influences less obvious but equally vital are at work. It was delightful to meet informally so many workers of varied training and experience, to exchange ideas with them, and to gain something of their different points of view. Acquaintanceships made in this way promise in many cases to ripen into closer contacts of permanent value.

AGAIN, Frankfort itself was an experience not quickly to be forgotten. An ancient city with a magnificent inheritance from the past, vigorous modern developments, and obviously a great future, it could not but inspire its visitors and make them (if only for the moment) its lovers as well as its guests. The people in its streets impressed by their appearance of sturdiness and overflowing vitality; a city and country with such human material must have a great future. We saw little of the business or industrial life, yet foresight, enterprise, and solid worth seemed everywhere to prevail. To those who know their Goethe it was a privilege to see his native city in the year of his centenary, when attention was being concentrated upon his life and work.

A DEEPER insight into the past and present of Frankfort (indeed of Germany) was given by the dramatic and musical programme specially arranged for the Conference members. This included a special performance of Mozart's *MAGIC FLUTE*, an open-air performance of an early version of Goethe's *GOETZ VON BERLICHINGEN* and a recital of the works of Bach in the St. Katharina Church. All three were examples of very fine technique: and they gave a cumulative impression of the heritage of culture in the creation and transmission of which Frankfort has borne a great and distinguished part.

LE PLAY HOUSE may congratulate itself upon its share in the British arrangements for this International event. Warm thanks have been received from the British National Committee and other bodies.

THOSE who arranged their travel and accommodation for the International Conference through Le Play House may be interested in the following short financial statement:

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WORK.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ON TRAVEL ACCOUNT.

Receipts.				Payments.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
Fees	..	542	9 10	Hotels	..	185	2 0
Sundries	..	8	16 11	Travelling	..	307	16 9
				Postage and Sundry			
				Expenses	..	16	15 6
				Sundry refunds	..	8	0 0
						517	14 3
				Credit Balance	..	33	12 6
		£551	6 9			£551	6 9

It will be noted that the above account includes no charges for managerial or clerical work or for any other services rendered by the Institute in connection with the Conference. The balance shown was paid over to the Institute in consideration of these services. The cost of printing circulars was met from special funds provided by the Charity Organisation Society.

FIELD STUDY MEETINGS. Below are given reports on the two summer Field Study Meetings by members who were present. The special maps and diagrams prepared during both meetings can now be seen at Le Play House and are available for loan. Survey reports on both areas are now being completed; these also will be available later.

SHETLAND FIELD STUDY MEETING. We met according to plan on board the steamer at Leith on August 2nd: the weather was kind during the sea voyage. We called at Aberdeen, visited the fish market, and had breakfast there on the morning of the 3rd August; and some of the party saw Kirkwall in the small hours of 4th August. Later that day we passed close to Fair Isle and took a passenger on board. We arrived at Lerwick early in the afternoon and were met at the quay by the Provost.

The plan of action had already been outlined in the saloon of the "St. Ninian." Armed with Mr. O'Dell's *NOTES ON THE SHETLAND ISLES*, hereafter to be affectionately termed "the brochure" or "the green book," and fired by his expert knowledge and enthusiasm for Shetland, the group hoped to be able to carry away some distinct impressions of the islands as a whole, although it was realised that no complete survey of the whole region could be made. It was, therefore, decided to concentrate our efforts upon a comparative small rural area, and for this purpose the Islands of Bressay and Noss had been selected by Mr. Farquharson and Mr. O'Dell. Urban conditions we proposed to study in Lerwick itself: and occasional long excursions were to give us a view of the Islands as a whole, to be filled out by lectures, discussions, and reading.

The preparations made beforehand included not only the issue of the "brochure" above mentioned, but also the printing of special base maps of the Islands as a whole, of Bressay and Noss, and of Lerwick: these proved an invaluable help in our work.

The three long excursions on mainland were admirably suited to their purpose; one to the South through Dunrossness to Sumburgh Head, with a visit to Mousa on the way; one to the West, to Walls and beyond, taking Scalloway on the way home; and one to the North to the Holes of Skraada and Ronas Hill, the highest hill in the islands. There was a very real joy in seeing the map thus spreading itself out before one's eyes. In addition to these prearranged excursions, one afternoon we were the guests of Mr. Russell and Mr. Theo Kay on Mr. Kay's yacht. Four of our party at different times were able to spend a night on a herring drifter. This is a rarely granted privilege, and the invitation is typical of the way in which we were everywhere received by the Shetlanders: "You are very welcome" seems to be their motto.

DURING the visit we had four lectures or discussions opened by local experts. Mr. Russell, the Town Clerk of Lerwick (in addition to lending us many invaluable books) came to talk to the Group one night on Bird Life in Shetland, a subject on which he is the recognised expert. Another very interesting evening was spent with Mr. Rattar, the Registrar, whose knowledge of the Shetland Dialect was most willingly placed at our disposal. Mr. Reid Tait, F.S.A. (Scot.) opened out a fascinating and (to most of us) a new field of enquiry when he spoke one night on "Old Maps and Charts of Shetland." The tales and legends that Mr. John Nicolson recalled for us made another memorable evening pass very quickly.

THE field work in Bressay and Noss was done by the Group as individuals or in groups of two or three. An enthusiastic botanist, and two inseparable geologists visited Bressay almost every day and produced maps and reports that were of great interest even to the "Humanist" members of the Group. One "Humanist" made a study of the distribution of inhabited and uninhabited houses on the island, and of a particularly interesting crofting settlement; another of the religion and of the social life of the islanders; another of the means of communication. Those members of the group who were studying the fishing and woollen industries and the archaeology of the islands as a whole naturally included Bressay in their field. At the end there were few members of the Group who were not indebted to many friendly helpers on the island. Through the good offices of Mr. Russell and the kindness of Mr. Kay, who invited the Group to the above mentioned delightful excursion in his yacht, it was possible to view the islands from the sea and to get an impressive picture of the birds on Noss cliff.

TIME did not permit of a complete study of Lerwick, but this was not the fault of our friends there. Among our first visits was one to the Town Hall under the guidance of Mr. Russell. Later we were received on board the local Lifeboat (one of the most up-to-date in the country) and shown every detail of its working.

ALL the officials and people from whom we desired information were most interested and ready to help, and put their time and knowledge generously at our disposal. Among the crofters and fishermen too we found ready interest and cordial hospitality. The local newspapers were active in their interest in the work, and each week both of them inserted an account of the progress of the studies. The party was photographed for one of them shortly before our departure.

ON our last evening we invited the officials and many others who had helped us to an informal reception at the hotel, when the work as far as it was completed was on show, and Mr. Farquharson explained our objects and demonstrated the exhibits. There were present that evening the Convener of the County Council, the Clerk to the County Council, the Provost of Lerwick, the Town Clerk of Lerwick, and many of the leading business men in both the fishery and the hosiery industries. The discussion was keen, and it was evident that many of our guests were much impressed.

We all regretted that we could stay no longer, and left reluctantly on the 24th. Again, the weather was excellent for the journey. Several of the party left in Aberdeen and the rest arrived in Leith early on August 26th and parted company there.

MR. FARQUHARSON acted as Director, Mr. O'Dell as Assistant Director, and Miss Thomas as Organiser during the visit.

N. L.
E. G. B. T.

FIELD STUDY MEETING IN JERSEY. The Island of Jersey is admirably suited for Survey purposes. As a region it is convenient in size, varied in physical features, most interesting biologically, and very rich in archæological and historical evidences; while the town and port of St. Helier suggests many social and economic problems.

OUR journey out to St. Helier was made by night via Southampton. The return journey was by day—a pleasant experience, giving opportunity of seeing the grouping of the Channel Isles, and later the Isle of Wight, the Solent and Southampton Water.

OUR centre in Jersey was St. Brelade's Bay, 5 miles west of St. Helier. Our hotel was close to the shore and backed by a moorland ridge of rock and sandy soil. The naturalists thus had everything at their door. The archæologists had a Mousterian cave, dolmens, a beehive hut, an early Christian chapel, an 11th century parish church, and an old manor house within a radius of 5 miles. Also we were within easy reach of Dr. Marett's manor at La Haule. Housing studies, work at the Library and Museum of the Société Jersiaise and official visits to the Royal Court took us frequently to St. Helier.

In our group there were a number of skilled and experienced workers who lost no time in getting down to their jobs, while on the other hand there were several members to whom a Survey Meeting was an entirely new experience. Some of these had come to enjoy the company, the place, and the expeditions rather than to take an active part in the work of the meeting. Before they left, however, all had contributed something to the results: even in cases where written records were not produced there were quite definite contributions to the general stock of knowledge.

FROM the first to the last day the programme was crowded. The Société Jersiaise gave us an opportunity of joining with its members in three expeditions and through Dr. Marett's introductions we met in their homes or at public receptions all the leading people of Jersey. For the Survey work the usual group organisation was adopted as far as possible, but on this occasion the groups tended to be small and specialised.

BEARING in mind the crowded time table the results of the work were good. Of special interest is, perhaps, a map of Place Names of Jersey with a careful glossary—the work of a young Guernseyman who had just graduated at Oxford. Guernsey was also represented in our party by a Deputy of the States of Guernsey, a very good archæologist and historian who caught the map fever after the first week, and, having made a careful study of local Saints and their history, presented on a base map of Jersey all the sites associated with Christian worship through the centuries. Another member worked out the present day agriculture in St. Brelade's Parish, getting valuable assistance for this from Lt. Cr. J. de la H. Marett, R.N., at one time himself a breeder of Jersey cattle, and an expert on farming in the Island. A Geographer produced a series of beautifully worked Distribution Maps. There was also a series of maps of

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archaeological interest representing Prehistoric and Proto-historic sites, prepared under the skilful guidance of Major Rybot and Major Godfray. An excellent Report on educational facilities in Jersey was prepared by a member with expert knowledge. Our Zoologist nurtured live creatures in bedroom and workroom, making nocturnal expeditions for mammals. The leader of the Biologists reported and exhibited at the end of each day their specimens of flora from sand-dune, heath, lagoon and other more fertile regions. The Social Studies group worked out housing, health, and population charts with special reference to St. Helier.

DR. MARETT was the mainspring of the meeting. He led the expeditions arranged for the whole party, as distinct from group work, and presided over our lecture meetings. His cheery personality, delightful humour, his easy informal way of giving vital information, above all his boundless store of knowledge, made him the ideal Director. He gave us generously of his time and energy and used his personal influence in the Island to get for us exceptional privileges. Mr. Farquharson directed the Studies in detail, interviewing each member stage by stage in the course of the Survey, discussing developments with individuals and groups, and joining up with each group in turn to take some share in their field work. Under this careful direction everyone was caught in the net and had to contribute at least one piece of solid work to the Survey.

OUR warmest thanks are due to the Société Jersiaise for placing their fine Library and Museum at our disposal and ensuring a quiet room for study purposes. Its President, Jurat G. F. B. de Gruchy, threw open the private grounds of his Manor of Noirmont to any of our people who cared to use them for work or leisure: its Secretary, Major Rybot, a leading authority on military architecture, conducted specially arranged expeditions to Mont Orgueil and Elizabeth Castles and devoted several mornings to the supervision of our mapping out of archaeological sites. The Librarian, Mr. Saunders, facilitated the loan of books to our members and delivered a most interesting lecture on "French Revolution Refugees in Jersey" at a reception given by the Société in our honour. We owe to the Société the services of Mr. Baal, a field naturalist, and of Dr. A. E. Mourant and Mr. Robinson, both of whom gave invaluable assistance with Field Geology. Another member of the Société, Mr. Ralph Mollet, Secretary to the Bailiff, arranged for an official reception of our party by the Bailiff at the Cour Royale followed by a brilliant address on Jersey Law and the Constitution from the Attorney General. Another member, Père Christian Burdo, S.J., of international fame for his researches in Pre-history, allowed some of us to spend an afternoon digging at le Pinacle, where he and Major Godfray are at work excavating a still unclassified settlement. The Rector of St. Brelade's generously gave the use of the Church Hall free of charge and lectured in the Church on the history of the building. Throughout our studies the fact that told was that Dr. Marett, a Past President of the Société, was also President of the Institute of Sociology. That alone was sufficient to call forth the full co-operation of members of the Société in all our undertakings. Few of us will forget how Dr. Marett explained to the Société members his reason for supporting us:—

"HANG it all! I'm President of the darned thing."

THIS loyalty to the interests of the Institute was felt by each and all.

MRS. MARETT was our perfect hostess, and no member of the party will forget her graciousness and charm.

D. P.

EDUCATIONAL CIRCLE.

AT the meeting on July 6th, an address was given by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M., on "Education for World Community." The speaker said there were three kinds of education (a) Preparation for a system supporting a static order such as the Roman Catholic Church, (b) Preparation for a system for forcing a dynamic order, as in Italy or Russia, (c) As an instrument for bringing about an evolving order. He advocated the third kind and thought there was too much of the first even in England. Various catchwords were used in education concerning the Self: *Self-expression* means showing the self as it is, and should be fought against; *Self-realisation* means bringing out the self as we conceive it should be, and should be fought for; *Self-determination* introduces a self which can never be, for it postulates that the self can be determined without outside influence. Education for a World

Community is dominated by (1) the Self as it exists, to be analysed, and the evil cut out, (2) the Self as it might be realised, and (3) the Self operated on by the influence of all the others around it. The conditions of a World Community were first, a desire or impulse to reach out to a larger community life; and there should be men and women of faith to direct and to make an atmosphere, and give a common stock of intellectual or social ideas; *second*, education to strengthen that feeling and to crystallise the inchoate impulse; *third*, Institutions such as groups, ethics and politics all based on great ideas. Institutions do not gangrene if applied to evolving life. The purpose of a World Community is not to suppress all individuality but to get each individual to recognise its privileges and responsibilities, and to realise itself for the benefit of all the others. The means for world education were in (1) Travel for children from the Kindergarten to the end of education. This stirs up the imagination which can also be worked on by tales, poems, and music. (2) More contacts for teachers, who should get into different atmospheres, and realise what is being done and thought. (3) A right spirit in the teaching of History and Science—we must begin to understand our common humanity in a scientific manner.

In the discussion Mr. F. J. Gould showed that there had been a remarkable movement for self-realisation in Nations, Woman, the Child, Animals, and Humanity, during the last six hundred years. He said education should quicken the imagination to see more values in Institutions. Understanding of human nature is the greatest science of all, and the chief part of education; and therefore history teaching was the great need.

At the meeting on September 21st, Dr. F. H. Hayward, M.A., B.Sc., L.C.C. Inspector of Schools, spoke on "Aesthetic Emotions and Assembly Emotions in Education." He said that every side of human life came under Aesthetics, as it was not entirely a matter of beauty in the narrow artistic sense, but went beyond to beauty of character and intellectual beauty. The essence of aesthetic in education is given by making an impression, very vivid, unitary, definite and emotional. A process which is dull or repellant or irritating means aesthetic failure. Aesthetic presentation must be kept distinct from (a) Conveying of technique (speed, writing, various skills). (b) The intellectual process of thinking and solving a problem. Very high-class literature cannot be dealt with by mediocre teachers under mediocre conditions, but should be presented in assemblies. Some great humanistic subjects can be treated better by assembly methods because—(1) We get mass or crowd emotion, and a sense of bigness, (2) A few celebrations would break up the school year with periods divided by red letter days. (3) The alteration from class to celebrational work, would be an alteration from impressional to expressional procedure and would represent a natural rhythm of the spirit, (4) the alteration would correspond to differences in teachers, some of whom would find opportunities in Celebrations, (5) teachers themselves would feel inspired, and see fuller significances, (6) effective treatment can be given to great works like the book of Job, or Milton's PARADISE LOST. Taking a hint from Empire Day Celebration, Dr. Hayward said there was a definite case for the establishment of Celebrations of Home, City or Region, Country, and the League of Nations; and later on for others on Fatherhood, Motherhood, Brotherhood, Sisterhood, and Neighbourhood. A third important group would be on the great Virtues including Temperance and Purity, Work and Saving, Charity and Courtesy, Consideration for Animals and for Natural Beauty, Wisdom and Truth-seeking.

ANYONE interested in Education considered synthetically is welcome at the meetings and will receive notices of them if an address is sent to Miss E. M. White at Le Play House.

LECTURES AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

LECTURES and demonstrations are much less in demand during the summer months. Those recently arranged were:—

Lewisham Rotary Club	..	..	August 15th	..	Mr. Geoffrey Clark.
Epsom Rotary Club	..	..	August 25th	..	Mr. Geoffrey Clark.
Durham Historical Association	..	..	October 24th	..	Mr. Farquharson.
Community Council of Kent	..	..	November 8th	..	Mr. Farquharson.
Clapham Rotary Club	November 14th	..	Miss E. G. B. Thomas.
Selwyn College, Cambridge	November 27th	..	Mr. Farquharson.

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PUBLIC NOTICES

A lines 16s. (minimum)

APPPLICATION for a LICENCE of the BOARD of TRADE.

Notice is hereby given that in pursuance of the 18th section of the Companies Act, 1929, APPLICATION has been made to the Board of Trade for a LICENCE directing an Association about to be formed under the name of

"INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY"

to be registered with Limited Liability without the addition of the word "Limited" to its name.

The objects for which the Association is proposed to be established are:—

To promote, so far as such promotion is or hereafter may be deemed by law to be charitable,

- (i) The study and teaching of sociology, and the sociological study of human communities,
- (ii) The use of sociological studies in education, and

(iii) The application of such studies to urban and rural development.

To provide and arrange lectures, addresses, demonstrations, discussions, and conferences for the promotion of the objects of the Institute.

To arrange or participate in sociological exhibitions, and to develop and maintain such exhibitions, whether of a travelling, circulating, or permanent nature.

To organize and conduct Civic and Regional Surveys (that is, sociological studies of human communities, or of any aspect or activity of such communities) and any other sociological surveys, inquiries, and researches.

To arrange and carry on any course or courses of training for students, teachers, social workers, research workers, and others in furtherance of the objects of the Institute.

To print and publish on its own account or through other channels, and circulate any newspapers, periodicals, leaflets, or books that the Institute may think desirable for the promotion of its objects, or any suitable material obtained in the course of, or as a result of, activities under any of the aforementioned objects, or in other ways.

The other objects of the Association are set out in extenso in the Memorandum of Association, a copy of which may be inspected at the offices of Messrs. Stephenson, Harwood and Tatham, 16, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.2.

Notice is hereby further given that any person, company, or corporation objecting to this application may bring such objection before the Board of Trade, on or before the 26th day of November, 1932, by a letter addressed to The Comptroller of the Companies Department, Board of Trade, Great George Street, London, S.W.1.

Dated this 3rd day of November, 1932.

STEPHENSON, HARWOOD and TATHAM, Agents.

REPRODUCTION of the advertisement published in THE TIMES on 4th and 11th November, 1932. The Incorporation was completed on 16th December. Full details will be given in next issue.

KENT SURVEY SCHEME.

IN co-operation with the Institute the Community Council of Kent have initiated a Survey Scheme for the County of Kent, forming representative committees in many towns and villages with a central Committee which meets for the receiving and consideration of reports and to give advice and assistance as required.

AT the suggestion of the central Committee the part of the field to be first dealt with is Juvenile Welfare. Forms and questionnaires have been prepared in consultation with the Institute, and these are now in the hands of the local Survey Committees. Throughout the preliminaries of this Survey scheme Mr. Shoeten Sack, Secretary of the Community Council, and Mr. Lazarus, Chairman of the Central Committee, have been in close touch with the Institute.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

WE have received from Mrs. Holbourn, wife of the owner of Foula Island, a copy of AIRS FROM THE FAR NORTH, collected and arranged by her. The arrangement is for violin and piano: the publisher is Ernest Kohler & Son, 101 Leith Street, Edinburgh. The price is 2s.

THESE airs will be of especial interest to all those interested in the recent Field Study Meeting in Shetland. It represents a contribution to Northern Folk music from the Isle of Foula—one of the Shetland group—and contains a collection of airs, many of which have their origin in the Island and are still to be heard there. In addition a little known Border Ballad "The Dowey Dens o' Yarrow" has been included.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS REQUIRED.

COPIES of the books and periodicals mentioned below are wanted for the Le Play House Library. Will any reader having these and willing to give them kindly communicate with the Secretary, Le Play House.

Nyrop (Kr.), GRAMMAIRE HISTORIQUE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAIS. 6 vols. Copenhagen, 1914-1930.

Brunot (F.), HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAIS DES ORIGINES A 1900. 9 vols. 1924-1930.

FORUM OF EDUCATION, vols. I. to V.

COPIES of SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, vols. I., II. and VIII. are still required to complete sets for sale.

MEMBERS and friends are asked to note that there is no connection between Le Play House, Institute of Sociology, and any other society bearing a similar name. The Institute has its Headquarters as hitherto at Le Play House, 65 Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W.1. No communication from any other address has the authority of the Institute.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Barth (Margret) and Niemeyer (Annemarie). *UEBER DIE HAUSLICHE HILFELIESTUNG VON KINDERN.* Müller, Berlin. (R.M. 1.80.)
- Beveridge (Sir William). *CHANGES IN FAMILY LIFE.* Allen & Unwin. (3s. 6d.)
- Burns (C. Delisle). *LEISURE IN THE MODERN WORLD.* Allen & Unwin. (8s. 6d.)
- Butler (Nicholas Murray). *POINTS DE VUE.* Publications de la Conciliation International.
- Cahill (Marion Cotter). *SHORTER HOURS.* King & Son. (\$4.50.)
- Clark (Colin). *THE NATIONAL INCOME, 1924-31.* Macmillan. (8s. 6d.)
- Cornish (Vaughan). *THE SCENERY OF ENGLAND.* Council for the Preservation of Rural England. (3s. 6d.)
- Dawson (Christopher). *THE MAKING OF EUROPE.* Sheed & Ward. (15s.)
- Eaton (Allen H.). *IMMIGRANT GIFTS TO AMERICAN LIFE.* Russel Sage Foundation. (\$3.00.)
- Elwin (Verrier). *TRUTH ABOUT INDIA.* Allen & Unwin. (2s. 6d. cloth, 1s. paper.)
- Exner (M. J.). *THE SEXUAL SIDE OF MARRIAGE.* Allen & Unwin. (6s.)
- Fleure (H. J.). *THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF MODERN PROBLEMS.* Longmans. (2s.)
- Gasset (Ortega Y.). *THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES.* Allen & Unwin. (8s. 6d.)
- Gries (John M.) and Ford (James). *NEGRO HOUSING.* National Capital Press, Washington.
- Hallsworth (J.). *PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION FOR SHOP AND OFFICE EMPLOYEES.* Harrop. (5s.)
- Hammond (J. L. and Barbara). *JAMES STANFELD. A Victorian Champion of Sex Equality.* Longmans. (15s.)
- Hansen-Blanke (Dora). *DIE HAUSWIRTSCHAFTLICHE UND MUTTERSCHAFTSLIESTUNG DER FABRIKARBITERIN.* Müller, Berlin.
- Hicks (J. R.). *THE THEORY OF WAGES.* Macmillan. (8s. 6d.)
- Hobson (J. A.). *THE RECORDING ANGEL.* Allen & Unwin. (3s. 6d.)
- Hogg (Margaret H.). *THE INCIDENCE OF WORK SHORTAGE.* Russel Sage Foundation. (\$2.50.)
- Holmes (Roy Hinman). *RURAL SOCIOLOGY.* The Family Farm Institution. McGraw-Hill. (18s.)
- Hunter (Earle L.). *A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN TYPES OF PATRIOTISM.* Maisel, N.Y. (\$2.50.)
- Kayser (Elmer Louis). *THE GRAND SOCIAL ENTERPRISE.* King & Son. (\$2.00.)
- Kimball (Elsa Peverly). *SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION.* King & Son. (\$4.50.)
- Lawes (Warden Lewis E.). *TWENTY THOUSAND YEARS IN SING SING.* Constable. (8s. 6d.)
- Longobardi (Dr. Cesare). *PAX CERERIS.* Schindler. Le Caire.
- Lokke (Carl Ludwig). *FRANCE AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION.* King & Son. (\$3.75.)
- Lüdy (Elizabeth). *ERWERBSTÄTIGE MÜTTER.* Müller, Berlin.
- McKerrow (James Clark), M.B. *AN INTRODUCTION TO PNEUMATOLOGY.* Longmans. (6s.)
- Maranon (Dr. Gregorio). *THE EVOLUTION OF SEX.* Allen & Unwin. (15s.)
- Marcia (George Ern). *EMILE DURKHEIM SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIOLOGISMUS.* Von Gustav Fischer, Jena. (R.M. 9.)
- Marett (R. R.) and Penniman (T. K.). *SPENCER'S SCIENTIFIC CORRESPONDENCE.* Oxford University Press. (10s.)
- Masters (Ruth D.). *INTERNATIONAL LAW IN NATIONAL COURTS.* King & Son. (\$3.75.)
- Meuter (Dr. Hanna). *HEIMLOSIGKEIT UND FAMILIENLEBEN.* Müller. (R.M. 2.50.)
- Minto (John). *PUBLIC LIBRARY MOVEMENT.* Allen & Unwin. (10s. 6d.)
- Nemilow (Anton). *THE BIOLOGICAL TRAGEDY OF WOMAN.* Allen & Unwin. (7s. 6d.)
- Neprash (Jerry Alvin). *BROOKHART CAMPAIGNS IN IOWA: 1920-1926.* King & Son. (\$2.25.)
- Newsom (Rev. G. E.). *THE NEW MORALITY.* Nicholson & Watson. (6s.)
- Pailthorpe (G. W.). *WHAT WE PUT IN PRISON.* Williams & Norgate. (5s.)
- Parsloe (Guy). *THE ENGLISH COUNTRY TOWN.* Longmans. (3s. 6d.)
- Pillsbury (W. B.). *AN ELEMENTARY PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ABNORMAL.* McGraw-Hill. (18s.)
- Plimmer (R. H. A. and Violet G.). *FOOD HEALTH VITAMINS.* Longmans. (3s.)
- Radin (Paul). *SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.* McGraw-Hill. (21s.)
- Reckitt (Maurice B.). *FAITH AND SOCIETY.* Longmans. (15s.)
- Reckless (Walter C.) and Smith (Mapheus). *JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.* McGraw-Hill. (21s.)

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED

- Schaidnagl (Dr. Ventur). *HEIMLOSE MÄNNER*. Müller, Berlin.
 Spengler (Oswald). *MAN AND TECNICS*. Allen & Unwin. (6s.)
 Sutch (William Ball). *PRICE FIXING IN NEW ZEALAND*. King & Son. (\$3.50.)
 Taussig (F. W.) and Joslyn (C. S.). *AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS*. Macmillan. (18s.)
 Trenholme (Louise Irby). *RATIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA*. King. (\$4.25.)
 Van Deusen (Glyndon G.). *SIEYES—HIS LIFE AND HIS NATIONALISM*. King & Son. (\$3.00.)
 Webb (Sidney and Beatrice). *METHODS OF SOCIAL STUDY*. Longmans. (8s. 6d.)
 Weltfish (Gene). *PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF PREHISTORIC SOUTH-WESTERN BASKETRY*. The Smithsonian Institute.
 Westermarck (Edward). *ETHICAL RELATIVITY*. Paul, Trench, Trubuer. (12s. 6d.)
 Wittels (Fritz). *SET THE CHILDREN FREE*. Allen & Unwin. (10s.)
-
- World Social Economic Congress, Amsterdam, August, 1931.
 INTERNATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT. International Industries Relations Institute, The Hague. (H.Fl. 3.50.)
 WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING. I.R.I. The Hague, Holland. (H.Fl. 3.50.)
 Addendum to WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING. I.R.I. The Hague, Holland. (H.Fl. 1.)
 Colcord (Joanna C.), Koplovitz (William C.) and Kurtz (Russell H.). *EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF*. Russell Sage Foundation. (\$1.50.)
 CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY. Allen & Unwin. (2s.)
 UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY. *Journal of the University of Bombay*. Longmans, Bombay. (3s.)
 THE CALENDAR OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, 1932-33.
 GRUNWALD (Dr. Kurt). *The Government Finances of the Mandated Territories in the Near East*. Palestine Economic Society.
 BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION. 44 Rue des Maraichus, Geneva.
 MINISTRY OF LABOUR. *Premises List*. H.M. Stationery Office.
 FRANK (Dr. Elizabeth). *Familienverhältnisse*. Müller, Berlin. (R.M. 2.00.)
 WATERMAN (Willoughby Cyrus). *Prostitution and its Repression in New York City*. King & Son. (\$3.00.)
-
- THIRD REPORT ON PROGRESS IN MANCHURIA, 1907-32. South Manchuria Railway, Dairen.
 INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. *Women's Work Under Labour Law*. King & Son, London. (6s.)
 WALTHER (Prof. Andreas). *Völker Soziologie*.
 STRASBURGER (Henri). *Dantzig et quelques aspects du problème germano-polonais*. Publications de la Conciliation International.
 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE. *The Agricultural Situation in 1930-31*. Trenes, Treccani, Tummenelli. S.A., Rome. (25 Liras.)
 REPORT OF COMMITTEE. *Forest Land Use in Winconsin*. Bureau of Purchases, State Capitol, Madison, Winconsin. (\$1.00.)
 GUIDE TO CURRENT OFFICIAL STATISTICS. Vol. X., 1931. H.M. Stationery Office. (1s.)
 OFFICIAL REPORT. *Slums, Large-Scale Housing and Decentralisation*. Commerce Building, Washington, D.C. (\$1.15.)
 HOUSING AND THE COMMUNITY—HOME REPAIR AND REMODELING. Ford, New Commerce Building, Washington. (\$1.15.)
 THE ANNUAL CHARITIES REGISTER AND DIGEST. Longmans. (8s. 6d.)

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

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|---|------------------------|
| AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW | June-Sept. |
| AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY | July-Sept. |
| ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY | July-Sept. |
| ARCHIV FÜR SOCIALWISSENSCHAFT UND SOZIAL POLITIK | |
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A SHEAF OF TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SIR PATRICK GEDDES.

APPENDIX OF TRIBUTES TO THE LATE
SIR PATRICK GEDDES.

CONTRIBUTIONS towards the cost of printing
these Tributes have been received from
Dr. Montague Dixon, Dr. G. P. Gooch,
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THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

I LEAVE to those who have been working with my old friend at the Collège des Ecosais, Montpellier, and in the Sociological Society, to speak of all that they owe to his inspiration. His name appeared in the Honours List last New Year's Day, a long overdue recognition of a life of unselfish and self-denying devotion to his fellow men. He "being dead, yet speaketh," will long be said of Sir Patrick Geddes.

I HAVE always been interested in municipal work, particularly in connection with housing schemes. The experiments of Miss Octavia Hill in London had a great attraction for me and I was delighted to find that similar work was being carried on at our own door, so to speak, by Patrick Geddes in the High Street of Edinburgh. The fine old mansions of the aristocracy of past centuries, rising to five or six storeys on the north side and facing southward, and to ten or twelve storeys at the back, facing northward, had long since been sub-divided into dwellings of one and two rooms and were becoming more and more "slummy" as time went on. The buildings, already hundreds of years old, were the work of skilful craftsmen; they seemed to be good for centuries more, so Geddes conceived the idea of clearing out the courtyards, restoring the stairs and rooms where necessary and decorating them in the Morris manner—chiefly with plentiful applications of distemper, white and coloured. He began with James Court, and it was there I first met him. His house was a sort of Mecca for the neighbourhood, and James Court became famous as slumdom transformed. Toynbee had been doing great work in Whitechapel by bringing rich and poor together, for the benefit of both, and part of the Geddes's scheme was the holding of drawing-room evenings once a week in his own flat in James Court, to which the other inhabitants of the tenement were invited. At first they were shy, but by and by it became a much-coveted privilege to get an invitation, although friction did arise sometimes when the proprieties had not been strictly kept in mind by Mrs. Geddes through her not knowing the precise shades to be observed in the selection of guests. The conversion of James Court was a great success and was followed by carrying sweetness and light into the dark places of "close" after "close" further down the High Street, and finally by building the Outlook Tower and Ramsay Garden and organising Settlements of University students to whom Geddes stood largely in the position of an apostle whose disciples they were. In fact, as I knew him, he was an inspiration to all those he gathered around him and his theories and practical example had not a little to do with the part a few of us took in founding the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company to provide decent sanitary quarters in place of the "ticketed" houses in the slums, partly by building new ones and partly by sub-dividing existing large ones. The ticketed houses were so called because each bore a notice affixed by the Health Department stating the number of inmates allowed.

FINANCE was one of Geddes's great difficulties, but he was occasionally able to fire with his enthusiasm wealthy people who lent him money without interest for his housing schemes. This, as he said to me, was almost the same as if they had given it, because few of them would ask it back. He had no sympathy with people who were constantly calling out for grandiose schemes of reform instead of being content with that organic growth which, as a Professor of Botany, he knew to be nature's method. "The earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear."

GEDDES was always a perfervid Scot, with a great love for the traditions of the "Auld Alliance" with France, so much so that at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 he had a Franco-Scottish Section. This, he always declared, was the origin of the *Entente Cordiale* which took definite shape under Lord Lansdowne three or four years later, and still survives in the Franco-Scottish Society.

His advanced and far-seeing ideas in Town Planning caused him to be consulted in many directions by the Government of India, and also by the post-war administration of Palestine, particularly in regard to the University of Jerusalem and the creation of the new City of Tel Aviv. When I was there in 1927 it was already a place of 40,000 inhabitants, beautifully laid out on land which I was told had been a few years previously little better than a desert, but now formed the centre of acres upon acres of orange-groves growing the delicious Jaffa fruit which is now so common on the breakfast table of the devotees of vitamin dietetics. The Mayor and his leading officials took a pride in showing me the plans according to which the builders had worked and said that it would interest me to know that they had been evolved by the brain of a fellow countryman of mine, a Mr. Patrick Geddes.

D. M. STEVENSON.

GEDDES AS A MAN OF ACTION.

WE have, as yet, no complete bibliography of the published writings of Patrick Geddes. Recent researches have shown that not only is there no complete list of his unpublished manuscripts, but that the present location of many of these manuscripts has still to be traced. And no attempt has yet been made to present a record of his practical activities, either in themselves or as concrete expressions of his manifold thought. The following brief notes on Geddes as a man of action are to be regarded merely as an indication of the wide field which he covered in that capacity, and as suggestions for further and detailed investigation.

ALL who have an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of Geddes's thought and practical activities will naturally think, first of all, of his Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. It may, however, be more convenient to deal with that institution at the end of these notes, and to speak, first and briefly, of his work as a Town Planner, for it is probably as such that he is most widely known to-day; and his pre-eminence as a Town Planner is frankly and willingly recognised by his fellows in the profession. All that I wish to do here is to indicate the relatively simple beginnings of his Town Planning activities, and to suggest that the course of the development from these to his work in India and Palestine is well worth careful and detailed investigation.

THESE activities began in the late 1880's with slum clearance and reconditioning, on conservative lines, in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh; and they had a real influence upon subsequent municipal and other activities of the same kind, though it would have been better if the example set by Geddes had been more clearly understood and followed. Next, and marking a further stage in Geddes's practice of Town Planning, was the erection of Ramsay Garden, which, built upon a commanding and historic site, united slum clearance and reconditioning with the building, in closest juxtaposition, of a residential hall for University students and of family flats. Here Geddes aimed not merely at providing homes for students and for families, but a centre in which working-class and business and professional people and students alike might have social intercourse, discuss and pool their experiences and ideas, and co-operate in civic and other activities. Other students' hostels, also housed in reconditioned slum property, and in the closest neighbourhood to the homes of working-class families, were later established in the Lawnmarket. These relatively simple beginnings were the foundation of all Geddes's subsequent Town Planning activities.

WHAT the next step would have been is partially set forth in his CITY DEVELOPMENT, the Report which he presented to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust in 1904. That report is one of his greatest works; yet, as I have indicated, it only partially embodies the Town Planning ideas which filled his mind at that time. I was privileged to accompany him on some of his surveys of Dunfermline, to discuss his plans with him, and to be by his side while he wrote much of his Report; and I remember vividly how hard he struggled to keep within the terms of his reference. Some of the rejected material found a place later in his CITIES IN EVOLUTION and elsewhere. The point I wish to make is that the Dunfermline Report, though but few of its proposals were carried into effect, and none of these, so far as I can recollect, was entrusted to Geddes for execution, is to be regarded primarily as a contribution to practical Town Planning in the most comprehensive sense of the words; and that the story of the evolution of Geddes, both as a philosophical and as a practical Town Planner, has yet to be written.

PROBABLY the first of Geddes's educational activities, apart from lecturing and writing, was the provision, implicit rather than developed, for co-education, especially for Citizenship, for Student and Citizen in his University Halls. The provision for that co-education was meant to be one of the most distinguishing characteristics of these institutions; and it was no fault of his that it did not become a vital force in Edinburgh. A little later, about 1894, he founded the Edinburgh Summer Meeting, organised more or less upon the lines of kindred educational meetings in the United States and elsewhere, but presenting certain features of its own. The meetings were held each August till 1899, the lecturers were drawn from many countries, and the students each year represented between twenty and thirty different nationalities. The Meeting was given up only because Geddes had discovered a larger field for his educational activity.

As far back as 1886 he had been inspired by the International Exhibition held in Edinburgh in that year to conceive of such Exhibitions as potential democratic Universities on a large scale, and his ideas were forthwith embodied in a pamphlet on the subject. Perhaps the fact that Frédéric Le Play had already been Commissioner and Planner of two great International Exhibitions in Paris was one of the sources of his inspiration. The great Paris International Exhibition of 1900 gave Geddes the opportunity for which he had waited so long. Towards the end of 1899 he took steps to found the International Association for the Advancement of Science, Arts, and Education, with British, French, American and other sections; later he obtained quarters from the Exhibition authorities; and from April till October, 1900, he and the Association were actively functioning within the Exhibition. The immediate practical aim of the Association was to provide lectures on the various subjects represented in the Exhibition, and to illustrate the lectures by visits, under the guidance of the lecturers, to the actual exhibits themselves. The experiment was not a success; but with characteristic courage Geddes renewed it at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901, where it met with still less success; and, if various circumstances had not intervened, he would have renewed it once more at St. Louis in 1902. Geddes's failures in Paris and Glasgow were due to a variety of causes, some of which were within and some without his control; but when I recall the arduous months we spent together in both these cities, I always feel convinced that his inspiration was essentially sound.

OTHERS of Geddes's educational activities which can only be referred to here are the Current Events Club and the Edinburgh School of Sociology, founded at the Outlook Tower about 1895 and 1901 respectively, and the Collège des Ecosais at Montpellier.

ART, in one form or another, was seldom far from Geddes's mind. His two booklets *EVERY MAN HIS OWN ART CRITIC* published as introductions to the study of pictures, with special reference to the pictures exhibited at the International Exhibitions held in Manchester and Glasgow in 1887 and 1888 respectively, are still eminently readable as appreciations and criticisms of art, and as early contributions to Geddes's philosophy. He was not, however, content to be a spectator and interpreter of art, for about 1895, at the time of the Celtic revival, he founded the Edinburgh School of Celtic Art; and, earlier and later than that year, his interest in decorative painting led him to engage the late Miss Hill Burton, the late Mr. Charles H. Mackie, R.S.A., and Mr. John Duncan, R.S.A., to execute wall paintings for his house at Ramsay Garden, and for the Students' Hostels on the same site and at St. Giles's Street.

GEDDES was never much of a theatregoer, but he had strong dramatic instincts. These, I think, first found deliberate expression in the organisation in connection with his Edinburgh Summer Meeting of 1895 of certain costume-tableaux representing, for example, at Inchcolm, a Viking descent upon that monastic island, and, at the Well of St. Anthony in the King's Park, Edinburgh, incidents from the life of that Saint. Few are aware of the active part which Geddes took later in forwarding the movement which produced so many local historical pageants throughout the country in the early years of this century; and perhaps the full significance of his own *Masque of Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Learning* produced in Edinburgh in 1912 and again in London in 1913, has still to be realised. That *Masque*, and the descriptive and interpretative book which he wrote in connection with it, are one of his greatest achievements.

MANY of Geddes's activities were concerned, directly or indirectly, with the promotion of international understanding and peace. His Edinburgh Summer Meeting, with its annual congregation of representatives of many nations; his Current Events Club, with its discussion of world affairs; his foundation of the Franco-Scottish Society and of his *Collège des Ecosais* at Montpellier, all had this aim in mind. His International Association at the Paris and Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1900 and 1901 were his greatest efforts in this direction; and if the full story of his noble attempt to have the great Rue des Nations of the Paris Exhibition conserved as a permanent institute and museum of world understanding and peace could be written, it would constitute one of the finest memorials of his life.

I HAVE no space in which to deal with Geddes as a publisher, as a pioneer of social finance, or with his efforts in Cyprus in 1896 and 1897 to find a solution, by the practical application of his philosophy of Place-Work-People, of the Near-Eastern problem. Each of these activities was extraordinarily wide and complex alike in conception and in practice, and each would demand a long chapter in his biography.

NOR can I say much here, of his beloved Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. I worked in the closest association with him there from 1897 till 1904, and know what the Tower meant in his thought and work. Planned as an institute of Geography, History and applied Sociology, it has been all these years, and is now, only the vaguest symbol of what it was intended to be. It is still, when looked at without understanding mind and eyes, merely a quaint building, somewhat depressing, save for the glorious views which its terrace-roof affords; and indicating little of its own intended purpose in Edinburgh or in the world at large; and if it gives any glimpse of Geddes himself, it is one at least slightly caricatured. And yet I have come back to work in it after an absence from Edinburgh of nearly thirty years, and have found it more inspiring than ever. It cannot be dissociated from Geddes. He is there still. He is still with me while I work in it, still going about the rooms with me, looking over his papers with me, and talking to me as only he could talk. It is, I gladly confess, a renewal of life and thought and work for myself. And it is because I realise so deeply what the Tower represents in Geddes's thought and work—how closely, as it were, he and it collaborated—how dear it was to him, and how great is its potential influence towards progress in education, civics, and many other fields, that I urge that its permanent preservation and development would constitute the most appropriate and vital memorial of Patrick Geddes.

EDWARD MCGEGAN.

A THOUGHT OF YOUTH WROUGHT OUT.

"WHAT is a great life?" asks Sir Patrick Geddes in his *LIFE AND WORK OF SIR JAGADIS C. BOSE* and answers with Comte:—"It is a thought of youth wrought out in ripening years." We are only now learning, says Prof. Geddes, how significant are childish feelings and fancies, dreamings and doings; how important are the boy's thoughts and how deeply determinative those of the adolescent, as he looks onwards towards his life and makes his choice among its oft-dividing ways.

PATRICK GEDDES was born at Perth in 1854. A lifelong Linlithgow friend remembers him at school—"a wee lad i' a kilt, that had nae time to walk on the pavement. So he ran on the road." How he would dart up Kinnoull Hill, throw off his books at the house in passing, and then on again—on to the summit. And what a view for our future Town Planner! There in the sunshine the gleaming river, the fair city of Perth, and all the beautiful Valley of Strathmore, the loveliest Strath in Scotland, so beautiful indeed, that when he grew up he carried the memory of it with him wherever he went.

HE was a clever scholar—an eager student of Zoology, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Philosophy and Political Economy, all studies were fish for his net. He had "A crap for a' corn." And as Huxley said, he honoured all his teachers by surpassing them. He studied under Darwin, was, indeed, Darwin's favourite pupil. In his first book, *CHAPTERS IN MODERN BOTANY*, he wrote:—"Were it worthy it should be dedicated to the memory of Charles Darwin," and he was never tired of telling stories of the grey-eyed scientist. At the same time he saw further than Darwin. Struggle might be existence—livelihood, but not life. With the poet he trusted—nor faintly either—that love was "creation's final law."

FROM London he went abroad to many different Universities from whence, as he used laughingly to say, he "came out by the same door as in he went." In Paris one momentous summer afternoon he attended a lecture by M. Demolins and heard him expound Le Play—a great experience. But at the hospitals as they were then, he witnessed a callousness to human suffering he could never forget—and never recalled without a shudder.

WHEN on a paleontological expedition to Mexico in 1879, the digging for fossils in the strong sunlight hurt his eyes and he was threatened with blindness. While immured in a dark room he thought of his "thinking machines" as he called them. The criss-crossing of the astragals of the windows suggested a method of expressing ideas that he could manipulate with his fingers and escape the tyranny of words. Thought clearances, in short, instead of cross-word puzzles! These were soon to be tested. Appointed Professor of Botany at University College, Dundee, he threw himself enthusiastically into the work of organising his department, saying that "while the most modest of any University in the Kingdom, it might the more easily aspire to being the most perfect."

HE married Miss Anna Morton of Liverpool, a beautiful helpmate, whose work among the slum babies of Edinburgh is even now bearing fruit a thousandfold. Not long after their marriage they left their Princes Street residence and made their home among the people of the Lawnmarket, in a close off the High Street, one of the most neglected parts of the Old Town, "down which for centuries there had poured a veritable river of sin

and sorrow." At that time as much money was spent in charity in Edinburgh as would have considerably enriched some twenty cities; but Mr. and Mrs. Geddes went further than philanthropy, knowing

"Not what we give, but what we share,—
The gift without the giver is bare."

Mrs. Geddes was musical and her musical evenings with Mrs. Kennedy Fraser are still for many a fragrant memory. Their "At Homes" grew into the Edinburgh "Summer Meetings," cosmopolitan gatherings, stimulating and delightful to professors, teachers and students alike.

It was Edinburgh that saw the opening of University Halls for students and the foundation of the Outlook Tower as the world's first Sociological Observatory. The formation of the Town and Gown Association for the improvement of housing conditions in Old Edinburgh was an experiment in the moralisation of capital that might well prove a lead to the way out of many of the economic tangles of to-day.

THE EVERGREEN published in 1895 by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, the outcome of a students' Christmas Booklet was the beginning of that long and fruitful collaboration with his friend, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, which culminated last year in the publication of their magnificent work, *LIFE: OUTLINES OF GENERAL BIOLOGY*, a labour of more than thirty years. *BIOLOGY* in the Home University Library and *EVOLUTION OF SEX* in the Contemporary Science Series form an easy introduction together with his articles on Biology and kindred subjects in *CHAMBERS' ENCYCLOPÆDIA* and in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*.

His work in connection with the Sociological Society in London and with M. Otlet at the Palais Mondial at Brussels is well known. Of agricultural schemes in Cyprus and the Nature-Study movement in Chicago and New York it would take too long to tell. Of the Masque of Learning with its one thousand performers Miss Defries gives a vivid account in her book, *THE INTERPRETER*. Of his outlook on Sociology, books such as *IDEAS AT WAR*, *OUR SOCIAL HERITAGE*, and *THE COMING POLITY*, written in conjunction with Mr. Victor Branford afford glimpses of that New Europe—that new world of thought and action of which he dreamed.

STUDIES on plant life and evolution, on human life and occupations led naturally to the study of the evolution of cities. His books on *THE CIVIC SURVEY OF EDINBURGH*, *CITIES IN EVOLUTION* and *CITY DEVELOPMENT* have been of immense value to Town Councillors, Health Officers, and Municipal Officials generally. The Burlington House Conference and Exhibition held in 1910 led to the organisation of a Travelling Cities Exhibition, illustrative of the history of cities, of the new regional outlook, and of the importance of City Design, whereby cities might no longer "spread like blots but open out with all the ordered beauty of a flower." After being shown in Dublin, Ghent and Edinburgh, the Exhibition was sunk by the "Emden" on its way to India. Edinburgh architects rose to the occasion and did what they could to make good the loss. No little boy, he says, ever put his hand into his Christmas stocking with such excitement as he did into those huge cases that came from Scotland.

AFTER Mrs. Geddes's death and the loss of their eldest son, Alastair, at the Front, he worked single-handed at his schemes for the betterment of city life in India. In 1919 he accepted the Chair of Sociology and Civics at the University of Bombay, where work was punctuated from time to time with

visits to his friends, Sir Jagadis C. Bose and Sir Rabindranath Tagore. At Indore he realised his boyish dream of being "King for a day" and when he took his place at the end, instead of at the forefront of the Civic Procession, a shout went up from two hundred cleaners, "See, he has touched us who are unclean!"

His last years were spent in France. He married again and settled at Montpellier, founding, with the help of Lady Geddes, the Collège des Ecosais, and busied himself laying out a Botanic Garden that would give visual expression to his theories of plant life and evolution. Here he made a barrow path for his old age, but he never walked in it—for he never grew old! Though 77 when he died one never thinks of age having anything to do with him; his vitality was so tremendous, his spirit ever young.

As a little boy he would put his name on his school books:—

Patrick Geddes,
Perth,
Scotland,
Europe,
World.

All Scottish children do this, but not all make it come true. As Canon Laurie said once: "It is not Geddes's outlook on Edinburgh we are striving for, but his outlook on the world." In and through travel, he held, the social interests of men are peculiarly educated. The chapter on "Holidays and Pilgrimages" in his *LIFE OF J. C. BOSE* with its ever-widening cultural sympathies and outlooks, is one of the most interesting in the book.

HE saw the whole universe as an ethical process. "Religions," he says, "are not simply to be intellectually considered, 'known about' as learned men do, but felt and known in life." Talking of India he says, "It is as a spiritual unity underlying all the innumerable but more superficial differences that India has first of all to be realised." As Tagore says, "It is obvious Geddes has the precision of the man of Science but also the vision of the prophet."

ALL his work was a joy and it was never done. He had no belief in vicarious effort in the world of either theology, politics or industry. He used to say Carlyle's father was a greater man than Carlyle—because he did something! He had scant patience with philosophers or politicians who dealt only in words. He notes this power of activity as the first and foremost characteristic of life. "Life's image is thus," he says, "the burning bush flaming away and yet not consumed. Its very activity maintains it to abide the same."

ALL over the world he had many friends, and "all to whom he gave the ennobling gift of his friendship hold that gift as this world's highest benediction."

M.R.

AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUNDEE.*

THE fact that Patrick Geddes was for thirty years visiting Professor of Botany in University College may sometime prove to be one of its chief glories.

GEDDES was somewhat of a shock to the student who came expecting to get notes which he could learn by heart and recite at his forthcoming examination. A curious habit of dropping his voice made it necessary for the student to listen closely. When the student caught what he was saying it was very often something very different from what the student thought Botany should be.

IT might quite as likely have been Ancient History or Fine Art or Political Economy, as a note about the structure or habits of one of the prescribed plants. But when he got accustomed to Geddes's ways or followed his walks around the Evolutionary Botanic Garden which he had constructed with the help of his kindly Watson, he realised that Botany dealt with a series of living things which were only examples of the ways in which living things behaved, whether they were plants or animals or human beings—Geddes's purpose was to see life and to see it whole.

FROM the first, when he was writing to the Royal Society of Edinburgh about the CLASSIFICATION OF STATISTICS or issuing pamphlets on JOHN RUSKIN ECONOMIST, or EVERY MAN HIS OWN ART CRITIC, to the time when, in friendly collaboration with Sir J. Arthur Thomson, he issued the monumental OUTLINES OF BIOLOGY, he was always taking the same comprehensive and co-ordinated view of living things.

IT has been given to few men to leave such interesting visible marks of his activities in various parts of the world, from the picturesque Ramsay Garden in Edinburgh to the new Jerusalem.

HE has modified the actual structure of the world, but what is seen bears but a very small proportion to the germinating influences which Geddes has set going. The new movement for student residences came from his initiative. But even he could hardly have foreseen the successful series of Student Hostels which are now established in Edinburgh, in the growing Cité Universitaire at Paris, and the hobby of his retreat in the Collège des Ecosais at Montpellier where on the hillside with six inches of soil he was constructing his final unity of the Evolutionary Botany Garden with the Symbolic Grove which expressed the ideals and the aspirations of humanity.

THE essential plan of Geddes's constructive thinking was the adaptation of life to its environments. Knowledge of this in the past would enable one to forecast the proper direction of its development in the future and the continuous thread runs through his series of regional, but gradually expanding, surveys which are most typically embodied in the Outlook Tower at Edinburgh.

ROUND this education can be grouped, and on it all future planning and development can be based, and it embodies in bodily and graphic form Geddes's methods of thinking out his problems. If it is desired to know Geddes, you should visit the Outlook Tower, should read the OUTLINES OF BIOLOGY, and should spend a holiday at the Collège des Ecosais at Montpellier. Each and all of these will be a recreation and an education.

R. C. BUIST.

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THE SAVING OF CROSBY HALL.

My chief association with Professor Geddes was in connection with the rebuilding of Crosby Hall in Chelsea. I had known him for some little time previous to this, and he had invited me to interest myself in his movement for the founding of hostels in London in connection with London University, following upon his work in Edinburgh of the same nature.

As a start in this direction a group of flats had been acquired in the building known as More's Garden on Chelsea Embankment, adjoining a vacant site on which Crosby Hall was afterwards re-erected.

It was not very long after this beginning had been made that Crosby Hall in the City was acquired by a banking firm and its demolition decided upon unless a sufficient sum of money was subscribed to save it on the site. There was a good deal of indignation expressed against this somewhat vandalistic act, and Geddes wrote me a letter from Edinburgh in which he indicated the possibility of using this public feeling for furthering his long cherished dream of closer relationship between University and City. Somehow or other I read into his letter the idea that this was an opportunity for the acquisition of Crosby Hall to form the nucleus of a hall of residence in Chelsea. I happened to have been in touch at that time with Mr. Noel Brady of the firm of Messrs. Minet, Pering, Smith & Co., whose office was then close to Crosby Hall, and I called upon him immediately having in mind his being interested in the matter, and together from the window of his office we watched with horror the workmen tearing down the precious roof with crowbars. At that time neither of us were in possession of the knowledge that the bank had decided to preserve all the essential parts of the ancient fabric, both stone and timber, with the idea of its possibly being re-erected by some authority. Subsequently, in an interview with the Directors of the bank concerned, we elicited the fact that they had decided to hand over the materials to the London County Council and leave the decision as to rebuilding in their hands. We discovered further that two other competitors were in the field, viz., The Directors of the Leighton Memorial in South Kensington, and, secondly, Mr. Gordon Selfridge, who at that time had started building his now famous business premises in Oxford Street and wished to incorporate the hall on the top floor. At the outset I, of course, kept Geddes informed and he at once warmly seconded the idea of putting in a request for the acquisition of the building, and in fact he came up at once to London and took an active part in the subsequent proceedings.

THEN followed on our part a series of somewhat aggressive lobbyings of members of the County Council at Spring Gardens. The help of Mr. Godfrey, who had some time previously completed his survey of Chelsea, was enlisted, and we pinned up on easels beautiful plans of the future hall and its possible position on the vacant site in Chelsea. To our delight, and not without some astonishment, we found that the Committee concerned and the members generally of the County Council warmly approved of the idea, with the result that the materials were definitely handed over to us, in spite of the fact that at the moment we had no funds to carry out the undertaking, though we naturally had hopes of being able to persuade some at least of those who had promised sums of money to save the Hall, to contribute to our venture. This not only involved the rebuilding but the acquisition of the site, owned by the County Council, as well as a further

portion of land behind it fronting on Danvers Street, necessitating the pulling down of one or more houses. This belonged to the Sloane-Stanley Trust.

LOOKING back it might appear to be a somewhat remarkable fact that the County Council saw fit, as it were, to take us on trust. Though I may be wrong, I do not recollect that any specific undertaking other than that the building should be used for educational purposes, and that we should do our utmost to raise the necessary funds, was demanded of us. The fact bears testimony to the persuasive power of Patrick Geddes, who was untiring in the zeal and energy which he showed in meeting the members and officials of the County Council.

IN the meantime he had discovered that an anonymous lady had promised a considerable sum towards the original fund. This was none other than Mrs. Wharrie, whose brother, Mr. Harben, I happened to know, as he lived near me at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire. Their father was the founder of the Prudential Company, and the son had been instrumental in the saving of Staple Inn in Holborn from demolition, so that it was with considerable confidence that I took Geddes down to meet him, with the object of seeing whether he would influence his sister on our behalf. So much did he respond to Patrick Geddes's attractive personality that as we were leaving the house he came up to me, almost with tears in his eyes, and expressed the regret he felt not to have known Geddes in his younger days, as, if he had done so, he would certainly have become his disciple!

ALL went well from that moment, and not only was a large sum of money given us by Mrs. Wharrie, but further amounts from that generous benefactor made it possible with the assistance of other donations not only to rebuild Crosby Hall where it stands to-day, but to purchase the Sloane-Stanley portion and to take over a five hundred years' lease from the County Council for the whole site.

I NEED not here go into the subsequent history of Crosby Hall. As everybody knows it is now the Centre of the British Federation of University Women. Geddes had always been in favour from the start that the hostels he had in view should be devoted to women as well as men-students, so that when after the war his various civic interests took him afield to India, Jerusalem and elsewhere, and he was unable, except spasmodically, to interest himself as deeply in the movement as before, yet, although the original idea was not quite carried out, we knew we had his approval in using Crosby Hall for so valuable a movement, as the centre for Britain for women post-graduate students on a visit from the Dominions as well as other parts of the world.

I WOULD like to take the opportunity of mentioning the close friendship of Geddes and some of the members of the Board of Directors who have passed away. Mr. James Martin-White was perhaps one of his staunchest friends in this particular movement of providing halls of residence in London as well as in Scotland. Like other men of genius, full of ideas which they financially are unable to carry out, Patrick Geddes had to rely upon the warmth and generosity of his friends. Mr. Martin-White never failed him in this respect. Another for whom Geddes had great affection was Sir Thomas Barclay, well known at one time and I hope not forgotten now for his efforts in Paris in connection with the Entente. Mr. Thomas Hellyer was another of those who have passed on who was devoted heart and soul

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to Geddes and the furtherance of his ideals. Last, but perhaps not least devoted, is the writer of this tribute.

GEDDES used often to say of himself that it was his job to ring the bell and run away. In this case he certainly rang the bell, but only ran away to return and ring it with renewed vigour. It is a fact that when I replied to his Edinburgh letter, telling him of the negotiations that Mr. Brady and I had opened up, he replied that he had not in mind when he wrote to me the acquisition of the building but only of utilising the feeling in London for the general furtherance of City and University ideas, but he thought as we had gone so far we had better carry on and said he would himself come to London and assist us in putting the matter through to a conclusion. On such slight foundations sometimes is history built.

SANDWICH.

IN THE W.E.A.

THE influence of Patrick Geddes on the early days of the W.E.A. was not merely as a refreshing breeze, but as a wind of inspiration. He was brought to its help by his friend Mr. Victor Branford, who was one of the earliest members of the Association. Of course, Sir Patrick had little time for our formal and conventional expressions, whether in regard to the education of working men and women simply, or with regard to universities. I remember his coming in and sketching on a large sheet of paper one of his wonderful diagrams, showing the inter-relation of things, much as branches are inter-related to the trunk of a tree. One special occasion I recall was when he came to Ilford to help us inaugurate the W.E.A. branch in the Town Hall. He poured forth a stream of ideas in his eloquent manner, and the local reporter, who had great pride in his skill, was most indignant because the Professor raced, as it were, past him. Professor Geddes was as happy as a child when he came to tea after and found home-made bread.

ON my first visit to Edinburgh I naturally visited the Outlook Tower and obtained from it ideas which have remained with me ever since. I doubt whether any visit to any building has had more direct effect upon me. In later years, his work taking him further afield, we lost sight of him, but he will always stand in the background of our minds as a forceful figure, generous and tolerant, with the clearest possible ideas of what he wanted and how things should be expressed.

ALBERT MANSBRIDGE.

A LIGHT THAT LIGHTED OTHER MINDS.

FOR my earliest memory of Patrick Geddes I must go back to a day in the middle Nineties and to the old lecture theatre of Gresham College in the City. His name on the board meant nothing to me, but the slight figure facing a rather meagre audience was immediately attractive. Two things about that evening I noted and remembered. How was it, I wondered, that a university-extension lecturer with a charming Scotch voice could drop all his words softly into his beard (a question that was to cause me no little anxiety in later years)? And in the course of the lecture he made use of what I may call a proleptic illustration, giving a brilliant little summary of the career of some predecessor in biology who had fetched up towards the end of his life at Montpellier.

NOT until about twelve years later did I see him again. I had returned to London after working in India. Geddes had come from Edinburgh to London. He was lecturing for the nascent W.E.A., working in close association with Victor Branford on behalf of the Sociological Society, and was established at More's Garden, Cheyne Walk, which he had designed as a pioneer hall of residence for graduate students and university workers, on the model of his famous Edinburgh houses. He was guessing at that time that Chelsea and South Kensington were to be the academic quarter, with the reconstituted University of London as centre. The students' halls of residence were then his major concern, along with the re-erection of Crosby Hall. That treasure, of course, he had saved on the demolition of the building at Bishopsgate. The stones and bricks, scrupulously numbered and registered, were in safe keeping, and Geddes was busily advertising Crosby Hall by talking and writing, continually making play, as his way was, with the name of Sir Thomas More in respect of both the old house and the new Chelsea site. It happened that, before becoming secretary of the Sociological Society, I made an experiment in co-operating with him in press work on these schemes. It was not very successful, and any one who ever tried collaborating with Patrick Geddes, especially in a writing job, will understand why.

BUT although the tasks one attempted were full of difficulty, More's Garden a quarter of a century ago was an inspiring workshop and centre. Patrick Geddes always had his intimate group, and the range of his personal acquaintance was extraordinarily wide and varied. He seemed to be in touch with every creative person and enterprise, and the special attraction of the dinner-table was that it provided a chance of meeting all kinds of men and women engaged in the many fields of social adventure. He was in his prime, and no one could paint what then he was: a flame of energy, darting hither and thither with projects—as he said himself, continually ringing the bell and running away. That, however, was not the right metaphor. He was an inexhaustible fount of ideas, designs, and suggestions. His schemes might seem remote or fantastic: I think myself that he was given at times to regard as important something that in itself and its potentialities was not worth all that he bestowed upon it. But you were wise never to treat any project of his as unreal. You could always depend upon its having a foundation of value, and as a rule you would find that Geddes had seen into it and beyond, and had a notion of its actual working that left the practical man standing.

IN the years which I am particularly recalling he was especially concerned with the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society and his own Cities Exhibition. He made an effort to get a civics laboratory going at the Imperial Institute. It could not come to anything, for there was no money and no room, and the director could not run it without assistants in the midst of the endless exactions of his other work. Contrariwise, the Cities Exhibition in Edinburgh and Dublin achieved a brilliant success. His collection of historical, architectural, and imaginative material was a remarkable expression of his mind and method, and I would assert that no interpreter of our age, in the wide province of social evolution and institutions, was in the same class with Geddes as, accompanied by a group of students, he made his progress along the road of civilisation as it was illuminated by the maps, plans, and diagrams on the walls and stands. This collection, so assiduously and lovingly worked over during many years, was sunk in the Indian ocean by the German raider *Emden*; and Geddes could feel, and rightly so, that its replacement by the efforts of his friends, during the first part of his long stay in India, was a tribute of labour and understanding such as would gladden the heart of a veteran teacher wherever he might be.

AT all stages of his career some people who listened to public lectures by Patrick Geddes complained that he was hard to hear and to follow, that his highly individual method and terminology created obstacles for the student and still more for members of the general public. This was true enough, although, as all the regulars agreed, no method was more lucid than his, no plan of analysis and interpretation more concrete and convincing. He could never write as he talked, and I regard it as curious, and perhaps significant, that no disciple was ever able to use his vocabulary and his diagrams acceptably. He was emphatically a type of the teacher and expositor possessed of individual and separate genius; a light that lighted other minds, leaving them to make and adapt their own lamps.

Two things, I think, remain especially in the minds of all who had the privilege and delight of knowing Patrick Geddes and of working, in whatever degree or capacity, by his side. The first is the richness of his contribution to his own age. His intellectual and social initiative was most remarkable. He struck out new ideas, new lines of study and constructive effort, and went on year by year driving in his ideas, caring little how many or how few appeared to be taking them in. And when he came back from India and Palestine, to start on his old man's dream at Montpellier, he could look around Britain and see on all hands the fruit of his sowing in the widespread civic revival, the multiplying groups of student enthusiasts, and the general acceptance of his idea of the organic community, however imperfectly it was being realised. For thirty years he had talked to a seemingly unheeding world of the regional survey and what it could be made to mean. He lived to hear the phrase on the lips of county councillors and borough surveyors.

AND the second thing of which we think is wholly personal. Among his contemporaries Patrick Geddes stood alone—in the quality of his spirit, his piercing wit, his luminous expressiveness, the light and laughter of the blue eyes that took in everything within their range. He carried with him a large part of the secret that dwells in the life of the mind. And he was, I doubt not, a marvellously happy man.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

AN IDEAL RISING FROM THE REAL.

OVER my drawing-room fireplace hangs a little oil sketch by a Scottish artist, of the Ile de la Cité in Paris ; the spire of Notre Dame soaring into blue sky, with the busy life of the river and bridges at the foot. It was given to us years ago by Professor Patrick Geddes ; it reminds one of him and of how he always saw an ideal rising from the real, and endeavoured to direct the present by connecting it with the past.

FROM 1890 onwards my husband (then John Sinclair) was a friend of Professor Geddes and supported Outlook Tower schemes. After the New Year honours of 1932 Sir Patrick wrote to tell me he had now accepted the recognition he did not wish to have when my husband, then Secretary for Scotland, proposed to recommend his name over twenty years ago.

IN 1912 my husband went to Madras as Governor, and a few weeks later wrote asking Professor Geddes to send some town-planning literature. The way had to be carefully paved, but in March, 1914, my husband wrote conveying the Madras Government's invitation to Professor Geddes to come and "enlighten municipal administrators and others in India upon the subject of modern town-planning" and as "the intelligent Indian public is sometimes discouraged by lecturers who know nothing of Indian conditions it would add greatly to the value and acceptance of lectures if the lecturer could first see something of Indian municipal conditions, growth and surroundings."

PROFESSOR GEDDES replied from the Outlook Tower that he had just returned from Dublin, where he had been "preparing the conditions of competition for the Lord Lieutenant's prize of £500 for a Town Plan of Dublin, to form the sequel and climax of the Civic Exhibition now being actively promoted by the Countess of Aberdeen in the big empty Linen Hall Barracks happily obtained for the purpose. Thus for the first time, in any English-speaking country at any rate, a Civic Survey, its Civic Exhibition, and resultant Town Planning Exhibition are all in progress together. . . . Well, on returning here I accepted to spend next winter in the States, partly to lecture, and perhaps also to talk over the Town Planning Exhibition and to look for such consulting practice as might be available there. . . . But on receiving your letter the next morning after this acceptance, I cabled again putting off these American arrangements for another year ! And so I accept your very attractive invitation —"

DETAILED plans were worked out in a series of letters exchanged all summer, and in spite of the outbreak of war it was decided to proceed. So Professor Geddes, with his son Alastair, arrived at Bombay on the way to stay with us in Madras, and wrote on 16th October : "The Exhibition is on its way to Madras by sea, and may I hope escape the enemy." But on 22nd October, while we were touring on the Malabar coast opposite, there came the news that the whole of the Town Planning Exhibition had gone to the bottom of the Indian Ocean in the "Clan Grant," sunk with two other ships by the "Emden" near Minicoy. "Professor Geddes has taken the loss with great composure and pluck," so my husband wrote ; and with great gallantry and loyalty a group of those who had helped with the Exhibition at home succeeded in assembling and despatching a new collection which was opened in the University Senate Hall at Madras in January, 1915.

THE enthusiasm and interest in his surroundings of Professor Geddes was warmly appreciated by the Madras community, and his son's attractive personality and practical helpfulness won all hearts. Later they went on to Calcutta and Bombay, where Professor Geddes lectured in the University. The complete Civic Exhibition set up in the Royal Institute of Science there included about 3,500 exhibits and occupied about a quarter of a mile of screens.

PROFESSOR GEDDES often wrote from his Mediterranean tower of his plans there, and he kindly found pleasant quarters in Montpellier for my daughter while she was pursuing her French studies.

My last sight of Sir Patrick was on 30th January this year, when he was the host of a Saturday afternoon gathering at the New Europe Group; full of the same eager zest, as he drew from a circle of well-known friends their reflections on the world's progress and destiny.

MARJORIE PENTLAND.

TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA.

As one intimately associated with Professor Geddes's work in the East, more particularly as regards the study of cities and their improvement, I welcome the opportunity to put on record, as far as I am able, the specific value of his contribution towards placing on a systematic basis the art of civic development more usually given the brief but somewhat misleading title of Town Planning. Those who have read his *CITIES IN EVOLUTION* will be aware of his method of approach to the subject, but even with this guidance there remains much that could only be gathered by one who had the good fortune to be in actual collaboration with him in a number of instances.

THE civic survey which Geddes so strongly insisted on as a preliminary to action, was recognised by his contemporary workers as desirable, and certain aspects, more particularly those involving statistical examination, were in operation, but it was not until Geddes brought his breadth of outlook and extended sympathies to bear on it, that such surveys acquired a vitality of expression previously lacking. Instead of a mere piling together of facts useful enough in their way but often lacking the needful co-ordination, the survey became a fascinating historic study based on the recognised Place-Folk-Work philosophy and therefore starting from the earliest available knowledge and going on century by century till the reasons for all that is found fused themselves into one luminous presentation.

THE differences between the development of the cities of the east and those of the west render the application of any stereotyped method of examination which might be appropriate in one case almost inevitably fallacious in the other. Ideals, customs, and methods are so different that only an experienced sociologist can place a relative valuation on the various influences. In India the highly competent government officers had worked towards ameliorating the conditions of life in the cities with a marked degree of success in matters such as health and orderliness, but in some directions there were definite failures owing to the instinctive application of European standards where these were inappropriate. The work of Patrick Geddes in India was of exceptional value, owing to his sensitive perception of the historic continuity of Indian ideals and methods and to his being able to visualise the fact that the right course was not to Europeanise Indian life but to recapture the highly developed civilisation of the past, that had lapsed in so many directions owing to the centuries of trouble and disorganisation through which this unhappy country has passed.

It is necessary to realise that the Indian city has never been influenced by economic requirements to the extent of those of Europe, with the exception of the pseudo-European seaports. India is only now passing out of the mediæval period and most of her towns are still in positions dictated by political, religious, or strategical considerations, and as economical efficiency exercises a less potent influence than in the west but few new towns have grown up to outdistance the older ones, as has so often been the case in our own country.

THE old-established centres are still preferred, as the social organisation of India discourages change and movement and therefore the civic problems are in most ways quite definitely on other lines than our own, and demanded a mind such as Geddes brought to bear on the question to appreciate the implications involved. He could visualise rapidly and comprehensively the

story of the place he was studying, what had brought it into being, the political and social changes it had undergone, what demands had lost their validity and what were still insistent. He could, characteristically, free himself from "western bias" and thus his general solutions were historically logical—evolutionary rather than destructive—in contrast to many of the proposals that had previously been accepted by the authorities but often doubted, if even understood, by those it was intended to benefit.

GEDDES, if not artistically imaginative, felt strongly the value of beauty, and he always aimed at the inclusion of such features as would enhance the general harmony, either by careful conservation of those existing or by a well balanced arrangement of those to be added. He was no less considerate as regards the social order, a matter of peculiar difficulty in dealing with an Indian town, where acute congestion is generally due to the fact that family groups and caste communities cannot be scattered. Thus, where these have outgrown their original locations numerous delicate adjustments have to be made, a problem quite outside the range of those who have not cultivated a sociological instinct. Then again, propositions which did not take careful account of religious demands might, as has been the case more than once, result in disastrous conflicts. The town planner in the East has no easy row to hoe, but Geddes, almost from the first, owing to his instinct for procedure based on his historical and social perceptions, found his recommendations to be in accord with the views of those most intimately concerned, if not always so popular with those administrators who preferred a more drastic form of reorganisation.

FROM the time of his first visit to Madras in 1914, at the invitation of the Governor, the late Lord Pentland, it was part of Professor Geddes's programme to illustrate his procedure by means of lectures based on his cities exhibition, and this programme was temporarily interfered with when the ship carrying his collection had the misfortune to meet the *Emden* and was sunk off the Indian coast. Strenuous efforts were immediately made by Geddes's friends at home so that within three months a collection was formed, including drawings, prints and views, which, if not in all respects equivalent to the original one, provided the appropriate material for the line of exposition Geddes employed.

THE value of this procedure was obvious, as those who might be called on to implement any proposals made had not only the opportunity of realising what these proposals were, but also the philosophic ideas behind them. The educated Indian as a rule takes a greater pleasure in mental exercises than in their practical application, and the demonstrations of principles of action were greatly appreciated even when the effort to put these into operation too often failed to produce results. At the same time where the authorities were sympathetic a great deal was done, and only when local and municipal government became one of the "transferred" activities, was there a definite slackening off. This might have been only temporary, but it lasted up to the time when the world wide economic depression has discouraged this and other activities, so that at the moment the improvement and development schemes are almost at a standstill, though the fruits of Geddes's work in India still remain in the minds of all those there who profited by his teaching.

H. V. LANCHESTER.

ILLUMINATION . . . AS BY FLASHES OF LIGHTNING.

I GLADLY acknowledge the debt that I owe, as a student of history and economics, to Patrick Geddes. Of all the thinkers of our time it was he who impressed me most as a man of genius. To others I have been indebted for illumination as by the light of a candle: to Geddes as by flashes of lightning.

IT was at one of the early Edinburgh Summer Meetings that I first met him—I cannot remember the date. I had come from Plymouth to join it, climbed up the Mound from the Waverley Station, and entered the lecture room in the middle of a lecture. I saw a trimly-built figure of a man, pouring forth words with rapid utterance and vivacious gestures, sometimes facing the audience—not large, but very intent—sometimes drawing rapidly on a blackboard. The quickly suppressed laughter and applause which broke out from time to time puzzled me, as the only intelligible sentence I would catch was “Il faut cultiver son jardin,” repeated once or twice with emphasis. In the course of that meeting I first marvelled at his extraordinary vitality, and then began to understand him sufficiently to be, ever afterwards, on the lookout for opportunities to see and hear him.

ONE little incident may be mentioned as a sample of our intercourse. On an autumn afternoon some few years before the War we were walking along a street in Chelsea. I said to him, “I have to lecture to-night on the Civil War of the seventeenth century. Please give me one quotation to illustrate the spirit of the Cavaliers and one to illustrate that of the Puritans.” Was ever any similar request made from another Professor of Botany? He answered, “For the Cavaliers, take this from the great Montrose,

‘He either dreads his fate too much
Or his deserts are small,
Who fears to put it to the touch
To win or lose it all.’

For the Puritans, take this said by Andrew Melville to King James VI. of Scotland, James I. of England, ‘Look you, there is not one king only in Scotland, but two. There is our Sovereign Lord King James, whom we honour and obey, and there is the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords, *whose poor silly vassal King Jamie is.*’” This, I felt, was just the spark I needed to make my lecture something living and worth while. I could write much more about what work in English history I have done owes to such hints, dropped by him at chance moments.

He was a professor of Botany in one University, a professor of Sociology in another, but the academic lines of delimitation drawn round particular ‘ologies were to him unreal and conventional. It was Life in all its manifestations, from the lowliest forms up to the life, economic, cultural and emotional, material and spiritual, of cities and empires, which was the subject of his study. Bergson was, I believe, the teacher to whom he owed most, and the conception of *élan vital* the guiding clue to which he trusted, using it to balance and correct the materialistic interpretation of evolution and history. So, while he emphasised the formula Place-Work-Folk, which expresses the thought that the material environment conditions the occupations by which any community can win a living, and those occupations condition their social relationships and the line of development of character, he took care also to reverse that formula, reading it as Folk-Work-Place;

those human aspirations which spring from the *élan vital* themselves provoke efforts and activities which transform the material environment. Since for him Economics and Botany were but aspects of one science, he used botanical conceptions to interpret economic facts, as when he compared the crowded and shut-in courts of Edinburgh Old Town to experimental gardens from which first one and then another element necessary for healthy plant life has been removed. And is not his "il nous faut cultiver notre jardin" the economic truth which Britain most needs now to put into practice?

THE fundamental principle of that special technique in the Art of Thinking which he developed can be found in his phrase "Every machine for thought tends to become a cage for thought." Because in these days the world, and particularly the academic world, does its thinking so predominantly by means of words and phrases, it is continually in danger of being hampered in the recognition of new truth by the formulas which were coined for past services. A partial remedy is to supplement words and phrases as far as possible by visual images, by fashioning diagrams, and then turning them upside down and inside out. A more complete remedy is to link thought to action, action to thought—hence his motto, *Vivendo discimus*.

HENCE Geddes was equally and simultaneously a man of action, singularly bold and ambitious in his efforts, and a man of thought, singularly original and gifted with the power of penetrating analysis. Others will, I hope, tell adequately of his successes; I desire here to mention only some of his magnificent failures. First, I would refer to his great scheme for building up on the basis of the last pre-war International Exhibition at Paris a permanent international organisation for scientific research, in which each participating nation should maintain an institute for the research in which it was most interested, all results being shared. Success in this effort seemed probable till France was convulsed by the Dreyfus case, and that and other untoward events stimulated the suspicious nationalism which plunged the world into the Great War. Next, I would mention his series of designs for the reconstruction of Indian cities, particularly with regard to the linking up of tanks in such a way as to turn them from breeding-places for malarious mosquitoes into assets for health and amenity. His efforts to stir the governmental authorities, either British or Indian, into any effective action failed; the designs remain. Some day India may rediscover them and turn them to account. Lastly, there were failures as well as successes in what was the continuous effort of his life—the reform and vitalising of the Universities of the world. Nothing less than that was the final aim which he had in view in the Edinburgh Summer School, the Outlook Tower, the Montpellier College, his work in Jerusalem and in connection with the Institute of Sociology, and he was still revolving fresh schemes to that end in the last correspondence and talk I had with him shortly before death ended his tireless activity.

GILBERT SLATER.

IN INDIA.

PROFESSOR Patrick Geddes is one of those rare personalities who could import his whole life and soul into his writings and activities with a joy and zest that were as boundless as the source of life and mind itself. By far his most outstanding contribution to sociology is his understanding of sociology as the art of orientation of all science and knowledge for amelioration and uplift of human life. Though true to the tradition of Comte, his sociology thus became essentially practical and realistic. None among the modern sociologists have his unifying vision of the one in the many, of the ideal in the concrete, and thus it will be a mistake to label him as belonging to a particular sociological school, such as that of Comte, Herbert Spencer, or Le Play. Professor Geddes as a sociologist is a class by himself. His mind traversed easily through the entire range of the positive and social sciences until it came to rest itself on a utopia of Truth, Goodness and Beauty that is on the earth here and now. Simultaneously he was a geographer, ecologist, economist, artist town planner, and educator, and though in his conversations he made much of the Le Play formula of Environment, Function, and Organism, none but himself could supply the right corrective to the kind of schematisation which disregards the durability of causes and intermixture of effects in the field of human works and experiences. He turned for the study of social causation, indeed, to geographical and biological conditions and circumstances, but he was keenly alive to the significance of the social heritage or burden, which furnishes for man a retrospect and forecast which other animals do not share with him, and make human adjustment something far different from biological adaptation. Above all, he believed in the efficacy of social values as incarnate in the lives of the world's great men, or mass movements—unerring guides to social destiny.

As he visualises for us the gradual making of landscapes, and the social forces underlying the separate parts of extensive valleys in different regions of the world, and notes the world-wide similarity between the methods of the hunter and those of the slave-driver, the planter, the peripatetic financier, and the conquistador, equally wasteful of natural and human resources, he lays bare the plague spots of agricultural civilisations all over the globe. And as he pleads for the restoration of the values still preserved in the village plan, in its central shrine, or in the school, in the council of the five, or in the manifold co-operative rules of agriculture and irrigation, it is not a historian of civilisation who speaks, but a practical innovator who has his eye for those essential details making or marring the region's destiny. Similarly as he follows industrialism in its world-wide march and brings to light the distinction between its crude, haphazard and anti-social phases and the planned, moralised and neo-technic phases, he lays his fingers on the dark spots of industrial civilisation, and gives it an unerring social lead. A follower of Ruskin and William Morris in his diagnosis of the disease and illth of industrialised countries, he came to India as a town-planner and was organising the first Civic and Town Planning Exhibition in Calcutta, when the present writer, just fresh from the University, first met him some twenty years ago with a study of the social effects of industrialism and a regional survey of village and cottage industries. What an exciting adventure it was to follow him from map to map as he illustrated the planless muddle and pell-mell growth of nineteenth century industrial cities; and how instructive was the contrast with some of the new manufacturing towns of the Rhineland, or with the mediæval cities in Europe and Asia, and the temple-cities of South India. A city is not a bundle of geographic causes and circumstances. Its layout and organisation are the expression

of the social and cultural life of the citizens. As the economic organisation of the region deteriorates, the city or village also exhibits decay and disorganisation in its structure and development. In India the decay of the ancient village community and its related arts and crafts, the continuous cityward drift resulting in family and social unsettlement in the countryside, and the appalling congestion and mentality of our manufacturing towns were the subject matter of my *FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN ECONOMICS*, to which Professor Geddes wrote a remarkable Introduction. Here was first clarified the distinction between the earlier unregulated paleotechnic and the later socially controlled neotechnic phases of industrialism, and the warning lessons this had for India's future industrial career. Professor Geddes since then travelled widely in India giving his expert advice to corporations, improvement trusts, and municipalities as regards city planning, and development. Some of his civic reports contained such scathing criticisms that these have not yet seen the light of day. Many cities and towns have adopted his schemes and suggestions for expansion, re-ornamentation and beautification, while for some he has planned museums, gardens, and zoos. All this is not widely known even in India; still less is it known how experienced city architects and engineers bear ample testimony to his unrivalled topographic sense, his quick eye for beauty and order and his unfailing perception of industrial and social possibilities in the future. Accompanying him in some of his tours to slums and depressed districts in Calcutta and Lucknow, I felt amazed also at the deep concern for the welfare of the Indian *busti* and *chawl* dwellers, which this rugged Scotsman always evinced. To Geddes slums were to be abolished less because these polluted the city atmosphere and were like ulcers in the body civic, but more because these brutalised manhood, dishonoured womanhood, and poisoned infancy, whether in the West or in the East.

PROFESSOR GEDDES combined his civic advice and planning in India with lecture work, and around him gathered a band of enthusiastic pupils and admirers whether in Calcutta or Madras, in Bolpur or Lucknow. In fact long before he settled himself in the chair of economics and sociology at the University of Bombay, his lectures on the history of the Universities at the Jagadish Chander Bose Laboratory in Calcutta attracted large and appreciative audiences. Wherever he toured or lectured he could establish an intimate personal connection with College teachers and students to whom he fearlessly explained the Le Play-Geddesian formulæ with all their ramifications. It has been thus that the Geddesian ideas slowly penetrated into some of the Indian universities. His outspoken and thorough-going criticism of Victorian ideas and methods of study in the social sciences, his enthusiastic support of national and regional idealisms in India and of every variety of social and educational experiments, his deep and wide-minded encouragement of scientific achievement or original thinking, however humble in its beginnings, and above all the example of his own life of self-forgetful and inspired devotion to the cause of truth and goodness made the intellectual circles in India look upon him as an Indian *rishi* of old. Nor was this veneration misplaced. For Geddes served India ardently with his mature wisdom and experience dedicating to her some of the most active years of his fruitful intellectual life. At least three of his most important contributions to sociology were written and published in India: his article on *ESSENTIALS IN SOCIOLOGY* (in the *INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS*) on *SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE CITIES* (in the *MODERN REVIEW*), and his report on town planning and education in Indore. But much more than his writings, his animated and suggestive conversations have influenced a good deal what India is thinking to-day in the field of the social sciences.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

IN PALESTINE.

MAPS and plans spread out on the floor where he knelt with a group of eager young people surrounding him, to whom he was pointing out on the maps the possible layout of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, that was my first picture of Patrick Geddes in Palestine. A few minutes later we were all out on the roadway and the dunes—for Geddes could never long keep to paper—with Geddes marking provisionally roads and buildings in the sands as we walked along.

AND a few months later my last sight of him in Palestine.

THE main lines of the Jerusalem University had been made; a plan for Jerusalem had been mapped out; suggestions, carried out in plans, made for Tel Aviv, for settlements on Mt. Carmel, accompanied by helpful counsel and brilliant suggestions for the educational side of the University—not yet in embryo. Geddes was hurrying to catch the steamer to Bombay from Port Said. The car was at the door to take him to Ludd; Geddes had been arguing with my wife and myself and demonstrating to me beyond the last moment; the driver was bidding us hurry up and as we ran down the steps with the luggage there burst open a bag stuffed with papers, plans and books—Geddes's luggage consisted mostly of this kind of clothes; whilst I bundled the papers into the case my wife bundled Geddes into the car lest another idea should bubble up and lose him his train and steamer.

THE first two weeks Geddes prowled round Jerusalem at all hours of the day and night. With my wife and myself, who accompanied him whenever possible, and often, because Geddes insisted, when it was impossible, he would say no word of the planning of the University or of the town. As he went to this hillock or that, examined a sukh, peered into a house, reverently touched a tree, noted the gradients of the city's streets and the contours of the surrounding hills, Geddes had no set plan in his mind, but he followed some inner vision. Ideas, too formless yet to find expression, were brooding in his mind. It was the period of fecundation—not a note was yet put upon paper, not a line drawn. On any other subject Geddes conversed freely and gaily—when I say "on any other subject," those who knew Geddes will rightly interpret this as "on every other subject."

MODERN events in Jewish life brought him confirmation of his general sociological principles. That the Jewish people in Palestine had turned to the soil as the foundation of the National Home made a tremendous appeal to him and that, at the moment when this effort was being successfully begun, the Jewish people should found their University on Mt. Scopus, stirred his imagination, his realisation of that essential unity for which the Jewish people had striven throughout history.

THIS idea dominated Geddes during these weeks of fecundation, and it was this idea that found expression in his design of the Great Hall that he planned for the University. In the first rough sketches that Geddes put on paper after the two weeks of seemingly aimless perambulation this concept at once took shape. Though Geddes modified it in detail in accordance with his detailed study of the building-land available and the nature of the site, the central idea—the University as an expression of the unity for which Israel had striven—remains the characteristic feature of his magnificent design for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

THAT this magnificent conception has not yet been realised is due, not to Geddes, nor to the architects who worked with him and under his directions—Frank Mears of Edinburgh and Chaikin of Jerusalem. It was not wholly due to want of money, for Geddes was an economical builder and planner. However, in this brief story of Geddes and his work in Palestine I do not want to be drawn into hard words and judgments. Suffice it to say that there are few who could rise to the lofty heights of Geddes's imagination or of his practical knowledge. Petty minds have endeavoured to bespoil what Geddes and his two assistants had conceived on noble and enduring lines.

GEDDES was extraordinarily economical in his building and his town planning. His thought was always to make use of the existing and to plan in the cheapest way. Here a bit of wall could be removed, at no expense, here some ugly building could be improved by a few trees.

THE old city of Jerusalem was quite adaptable to becoming a city of beauty at once light, clean and inhabitable. Naturally he was aghast at those who wanted to preserve the old city as a museum—to turn out the inhabitants and leave it surrounded by a ring fence as a city of prayer and meditation—those who thought the Bazaar streets too narrow and smelly, or the houses not sufficiently sanitary. Geddes never favoured what he characteristically called *Post Mortems*. The city was to be a living one and made habitable for living people, or to be destroyed. He easily demonstrated how readily and at what small expense the city could be thus made healthy and liveable. The narrowness of the Bazaars lent themselves to attracting the purchasers, who could see on both sides of the streets what was attractive to buy—just as the wide streets of modern western cities marred the fortune of many a shopkeeper.

KEEPING always to the need of never spending a shilling when a penny would do, Geddes made a Town Plan of Jerusalem, with its future new quarters and streets leading through the main thoroughfares to the station and to the main roads out of the town, which was a model of beauty, efficiency and economy. I think more money must have been spent on the cost of paper in the Administrative Town Planning Bills,—one of those grandiose schemes devised by lawyers who have never looked at a town—than would have sufficed for the execution of Geddes's Old and New Jerusalem. But this practical man could not overcome the amateur theories and ignorance of officials. Some of the buildings in the new parts of Jerusalem have been inspired by Geddes, but gone are the possibilities of its unique character which Geddes had seen and planned.

I WOULD not have it thought that Geddes's sojourn and work for Palestine were a failure. The ferment of his ideas in building the University, in street and city planning, was bound to affect and did affect many who would perhaps not admit the debt they owe to this real master builder. The greatness that was his was not theirs and, of course, something has been lost. In looking back upon the years I spent in Palestine from 1918 onwards, few things give me greater satisfaction than to recognise that I was the instrument that brought Geddes to Palestine. My old friendship for him, my love and high estimation of his great qualities made me a good advocate before the Zionist organisation when I first suggested that Geddes should be invited out to plan the University.

I NEED scarcely say that Geddes brought his mind and his experience and his good judgment to bear on many other Palestinian problems. The Hebrew

University was to be a living seat of learning, not one of the 243 dead or dead-and-alive schools scattered through the world. He showed the possibilities of combining scholarship and technical proficiency. To the Institute of Botany were to be attached gardens and agriculture; for the gardens he found a remarkable botanist at hand—the enthusiastic and erudite Dr. Rubini, who with his wife has so well succeeded in carrying out beauty and scholarship in the garden where all the plants of ancient times, with their traditional Biblical and local names, will be found. To the Physics Department he would join optical workshops where, following the Spinoza tradition, the students might engage in manufacturing the most delicate of optical instruments whilst carrying on their training in physics. So could the Institute of Chemistry have its practical side in the making of fine pharmaceutical products. Everything remains to be done, but at all events this summer has seen another move along Geddesian lines—the school of practical Agriculture is now to take shape as part of the University Institute of Sociology.

If history taught through pageantry has not yet found its home at the University, something has been accomplished in the erection of the great open-air amphitheatre where perhaps music and perhaps drama will find their natural outdoor home.

GEDDES, of course, used his influence to bring about happier relations between Jews and Moslems. He not only knew us Jews, but had not been a town planner in India for nothing, and had real friends and adherents among the most enlightened of the Moslems and of the Hindoos in India.

IN this brief sketch I have purposely confined myself to one small side of Geddes's multipolar mind and of his great variety of practical undertakings. But I think this is a specimen that illustrates the Whole Man. He could be the scholar, as his biological works written in conjunction with Sir Arthur Thomson show; he could be the practical architect and builder, but his clear vision of a Unity never forsook him. It was this conception that made especially valuable to him the chance of the great work he undertook in Jerusalem and in Palestine.

EVEN in writing this imperfect sketch in a small village in North Wales I became aware how his influence has spread in all directions. A mine dump in Rhos Manerchrugog has long been an eyesore. A band of students—an international band—is coming to the village on September 15th, and is voluntarily setting to work to remove the mine's off-castings—an idea that can only have been inspired by the teaching of Geddes, who, being dead, yet speaketh.

M. D. EDER.

AT MONTPELLIER.

"PROFESSOR GEDDES At Home—Collège des Ecossais, Montpellier." Who can forget it? Brilliant sunshine, a crowd of sixty or more folk, French, Indian, British, gathered on the terrace. Before them on a low stone parapet, a slight, frail figure with leonine head silhouetted against the blue of a Mediterranean sky. By the vibrant beat of the voice he seemed to be chanting prophetically, ecstatically. It was the story of his Collège; its intention, difficult birth, promising childhood, tremendous future. We looked up at the grey stone building before us, read its symbols, noted its turret chamber, felt some of its mysterious significance, and wondered the more.

THEN to follow him over the ground reclaimed from the rough heath of the Garrigue and already one of the best biological gardens of Mediterranean flora. Regional, yes; but cosmic in association and appeal. Here, surely, spoke the cultures of all history—Eden, Hades, Olympus, Gethsemane too. A sense of ideas flashing at us and experiences too deep to fathom; of a vision beyond our eyes. Here a little serpentine path through a rock garden and there a straight track to an open stone-flagged circle with nine unoccupied pedestals. We looked for the interpretation. "We like the Greeks, don't you see, need the co-operation of the Muses and Gods in life, and here they are for us!" His eye twinkled as he searched our little group, picking out here a Clio, there a protesting Dionysus, and, having ranged them in series, demonstrated the stages of human progress from youth to age. "And what of the Professor?" asked one of another at the end of the afternoon. "A brilliant amateur," came the reply from a subject specialist, bewildered by the wealth of illustration showered on him.

BUT best of all to hear him after sundown when the crowd had gone and the garden lay in quiet darkness. Here was no amateur. Topic after topic turned inside out with relentless mastery of fact and matchless insight. It was nearing midnight and we had made a move towards bed when someone thoughtlessly spoke of Economics and Sociology as twin subjects. Tired though he must have been, the Professor accepted the challenge, blazing out again in brilliant lecture till justice had been done and Sociology raised to a level that the arid, soulless Economics could never attain.

DOROTHEA PRICE.

FROM NEW YORK.

STAFF and Board of Survey Associates unite in expressing their debt to Patrick Geddes, whose death cuts down a great teacher, discoverer and original thinker. His books, his visit to the United States some years back, and his series of articles in Survey Graphic bring him close to us. It is by no means preposterous to go back to Bacon in seeking counterpart to the founder of The Outlook Tower in Edinburgh and the Scots School in France. The two men were kindred in the universality of their interests. Geddes ranged the social sciences in decades which have many points in common with the epoch in which the natural sciences emerged. His distinction lay in bringing synthesis to them—and in bringing them to bear upon the evolution of neighbourhoods, cities, regions. His surveys, his projects in town planning in Scotland, India and elsewhere, his exhibits, and above all the play of his imagination and his mind upon the processes of social advance, are a heritage in which the United States will share more and more with every year.

HIS SPIRIT OF CLEAR-SIGHTED HOPE.

My association with Patrick Geddes did not begin until after he had reached the height of his powers and had accomplished the greater part of the work which has so deeply influenced the thought of social reformers and the methods of social students. It was only after Le Play House was established that I came into touch with him ; and his absence abroad, and latterly his failing health, made it impossible for him to take more than an intermittent part in the activities of the House and of the Institute of Sociology. But, even so, I have been privileged to see him in aspects that enable me to understand the affection and admiration which he aroused in the hearts of all who shared in his labours or learned from his lips in the days when he was making his unique contribution to Sociology.

THESE recent years have been, in many directions, years of difficulty and discouragement for social workers, but Geddes carried on into them the vision which had enabled him to irradiate the different darkness of the pre-war period. His spirit of clear-sighted hope never faltered. I say "clear-sighted hope" because expressions of that kind, linking contraries, are necessary in speaking of Geddes. The remarkable quality of the man lay in the manner in which he combined opposites and wove them into a harmony by the magic of his personality. His interest in the past never dulled his concern for the present and the future ; his scientific precision never hampered his imagination ; his intense earnestness never kept him from giving rein to his playfulness and sense of fun. With a range of scholarship and scientific knowledge which seemed to embrace the whole intellectual world he remained always the simple and unpretentious fellow-student, wonderfully patient and sympathetic towards the ignoramus.

It was my misfortune to see him mostly in perhaps the one situation in which he did not feel at home ; namely, at Council Meetings where it was necessary to discuss the practical details of finance and management. These discussions, one could see, were a sore trial to his ardent spirit. How eager he was to push on to the more attractive regions of sociological ideas and programmes. But, whatever the temptation to avoid boredom and irritation, he never failed, if he were in London, to attend the meetings and give attention to the less attractive part of the Council's work.

HE had a high conception of his duties as President of the Institute, and he did not try to escape the humdrum of business detail. But he was happy when, business done (or sometimes, at his suggestion, postponed), he could let himself go and pour out the flood of inspiring ideas with which his mind was teeming. And the gatherings of the Institute which he addressed in his presidential capacity were occasions to remember. It is difficult to think of such meetings being held without him. Yet one dares to hope that the inspiration and the wealth of ideas which he has bequeathed to the circles that knew him are so great a bequest that the withdrawal of his vivid personality will leave his real influence little diminished. At any rate, we ought to endeavour to ensure that it shall be so.

A. J. WALDEGRAVE.

THE REGIONAL PLANNER.

TOWN and Regional Planners owe a great debt to Sir Patrick because he so vividly drew their attention to underlying causes and their relationship. The trinity of Folk, Work, Place, which he expounded, represents the planner's gospel, but many were unaware of it until he opened their eyes. Temperamentally the Englishman is inclined to rely on rule of thumb, he finds it difficult to believe in the necessity for planning; if he goes so far as to plan, it is not easy to convince him that he must be sure of his data and that, therefore, survey is an essential preliminary. There are, however, signs that the present hard times are making manifest the necessity for large scale planning and that the pioneer work of men like Geddes will at last come into its own.

REGIONAL planning grows rapidly in favour and this departure from parish pump politics owes its impulse, not a little, to his explanations of the fact that the units of common interest which actually exist owe their existence to the facts of geography, industry, and sociability (place, work, folk), and are often interfered with rather than helped by the boundaries of areas of local government.

His surveys and analyses also reminded us that a town or a region is a living organism (not an inanimate thing that can be parcelled into neatly labelled pieces), that its future growth is conditioned by its past as well as by the influences of the day, and that, consequently, the planner needs not only to study things that exist, but also their causes and the habits, desires and needs of people.

GEDDES once said that his function in life was to ring the bell and run away. He was for ever striking a fresh note and it was for his hearers to weave these notes into the planning harmony. Score writing or scheme making may be rather laborious tasks, subject to rules which sometimes seem to make it difficult to give adequate emphasis to particular notes that in themselves are of special value. One great advantage of contact with Geddes was the reminders one got that a score might be technically perfect and yet a dead thing, that the purpose of a scheme was not the arrangement of mechanical parts into an orderly pattern but the creation of a living harmony.

His survey studies were both inspiring and frightening; they fascinated by making plain some of the causes which help to mould our environment, they frightened by revealing the immense importance of the issues with which one was trying to grapple.

IN writing about a brilliant writer one is deeply conscious of one's inability to put into words what he himself would have made so vivid. It is impossible to explain clearly the nature of the inspiration one received from him or to express adequately one's appreciation of it. To one of necessity immersed to a considerable extent in the machinery of planning, he was a source of continual refreshment, a constant reminder that the machine is of no value except as a means of facilitating the living of a full life by the greatest number.

G. L. PEPLER.

THE ÆSTHETIC MOTIF.

IN this brief note on the friend that I have lost I shall deal only with one aspect of a many-sided personality—the æsthetic.

I DID not realise how important was the æsthetic motif until Patrick Geddes set the matter out in some detail in letters which I received during recent years. Written at the full scrape of the pen, with parentheses and interpolations, their purpose can only be rendered concisely by severe editing, but I place what follows in inverted commas as being essentially his own statement as he might have recast it for publication.

WE were corresponding upon "Scenery and Civics," and I had written assuming that in this matter his motif was almost entirely the love of his fellow creatures, and confessing that in my own case the love of beauty was the stronger impulse. To this he replied:—

"I AM glad to know that you credit me with good intentions; but too much as 'philanthropic.' I have handled social and civic surveys ambitiously, not in the usual spirit, but much more from the æsthetic standpoint than you think, and alike as architect and gardener towards beauty of environment. Thus the Collège des Ecossais at Montpellier is an experiment to produce the optimum environment for students, especially as regards nature.

"ONE of the main influences in determining the course of my life was the fine old garden in which as a boy I was happily at home everywhere, from hiding corners to tree tops. This garden commanded a noble outlook over the Tay Valley (Birnam Hill to Dunsinane, but a corner of it), and the endeavour of my life to see detail clearly but always in relation to the wide view has an intimate connection with the character of this landscape environment.

"As in the garden I looked out from tree tops over a wide landscape, so in my town planning I have always aimed at providing prospects of the city from heights. In this connection recall my Camera Obscura at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. From forty years' experience I can testify that the Camera Obscura is invaluable for teaching the ordinary observer the beauty of light and shade, and of landscape composition; and if this instrument were in general use in commanding positions, I am convinced that we should awaken many people to the beauty of the world and the need of measures for its preservation.

"FROM these reminiscences you will see that your insistence upon THE VITAL EVOCATORY VALUES OF SCENERY means far more for me than you supposed."

VAUGHAN CORNISH.

THE SYNTHETIC OUTLOOK.

My first meeting with Patrick Geddes was at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, when he addressed a body of Positivists who had met to celebrate the erection of a monument to Auguste Comte. He made a deep impression, continually strengthened by later contacts. His lectures on Cities at London University showed how sociology could gain life and reality by study in the concrete, and those same lectures revealed the personality of the greatest teacher I have ever known. Meeting only at rare intervals, although corresponding more frequently in later years, it has been a source of deep regret to me that I found so little opportunity of giving him active help.

TRACES of his influence are to be found everywhere where constructive work is being done, but the body of organised disciples who could have hastened the putting of his ideas into practice never took actual shape, and he accomplished only a tithe of what he was capable of doing. His biographer has called him "The Interpreter," and that aspect of him is prominent in one's memory. There was no subject on which one could talk with him without gaining enlightenment. His knowledge was wide, but he used it quite differently from most encyclopædic scholars. All the facts fell into place as he presented them, and it was common to leave him after a talk, whether on a matter of politics or of the growth of plants, with a feeling of wonder that such simple and obvious interpretations should not have occurred to one before.

In these days of specialisation, the synthetic outlook is needed more than anything else, and the hopeless condition of modern politics and economics is due to its absence among those who should be the leaders as well as among the public. Geddes was supremely a synthetic thinker, who could seize on the guiding principle even in the most complex problems. His teaching was essentially personal. It was impossible to judge him by reading a single paper or by hearing a single lecture; only by repeated contacts could one appreciate the value of his talk, flashing from subject to subject, and illuminating each in turn. Such an inspiration, not expressed in any systematic body of writings, may be easily lost to the world unless efforts be made at once to ensure its survival. It is for those who knew and loved him to see that his work is carried on.

CECIL H. DESCH.

AN ECONOMIST'S VIEW.

PATRICK GEDDES was a keen observer and a rapid and original thinker. His mastery of history, of the classics, and of the biological sciences, and his knowledge of geology and other natural sciences, gave him an outstanding position as a sociologist. He was not interested in primitive tribes. To him sociology was the study of the social phenomena of civilised mankind in the mass. He was pre-eminently a naturalist; and it was with the outlook and method of the naturalist that he approached the study of man. But the tendency of his thought owed much to Comte and Le Play; and above all, he was an ardent reformer, constantly seeking and teaching the ways to a better social life as he saw them.

My first contacts with Geddes were in Cardiff about 1911 and 1912, when my propaganda for housing reform led me to an interest in town planning. It was in India during the War that I really got to know him. We met frequently at Indore, Lucknow and Allahabad. He was anxious to teach, and I to learn. He realised that an economist who could be weaned from figures and abstractions like the "economic man" and be given the biological sense would have a useful and rather unusual combination of qualities.

My debt to Geddes includes all that I know about the evolution of cities, illustrated as his lectures and talks were by examples from Indian cities. In town planning and housing reform we had a common interest, and I learned much from him, especially by his criticism of my own efforts at town planning. And I admired his extraordinary patience and thoroughness in devising ways of relieving slum congestion at low cost, in comparison with the extravagant Improvement Trust schemes which he vigorously denounced, sometimes to the detriment of his own interests.

PERHAPS most of our time together was given, however, to sociology and to his explanations of his diagrammatic methods. A geologist from my college days, I came to appreciate through Geddes the importance of modern methods in geography; adopted his valley section for my class teaching, and became familiar with the Place-Work-Folk diagrams. He developed so many new theories and diagrams which he explained whilst staying with me at Allahabad that I persuaded him to write a long article for the *Indian Journal of Economics*, which incorporated some of them. The more intricate diagrams, which developed what seemed to be important theories in sociology, it was often impossible for me to understand more than partially; for they were much labelled with contracted words, often standing for ideas which were new to me. Geddes was not a patient teacher. If my questions showed that I failed to understand a diagram, he would seize another sheet of paper and build a new diagram with a rapidity of explanation which bewildered me. As my desire to learn had apparently stimulated him to some original expression in the numerous diagrams which he left with me, I returned them to him some years ago, in the hope that at Montpellier he might find the time to write out the explanations necessary and use them in a formal treatise on sociology which he hoped to write. At one time he frequently used to me the word "biosophy" as a name for the wide subject developed by his abstract treatment of sociology.

GEDDES's later interest in psychology was, I think, a natural development in him, from his objective study of mankind being associated with an intense reforming zeal. So far back as 1918 we had many discussions as to the

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right mode of approach to arouse a class or population, like the mass of the Indian cultivators, to become active in their own economic betterment. Probably I have learnt more by word of mouth from Geddes than from any other man; and I am indebted to him for much valuable advice. I always experienced the greatest kindness from him, especially when he knew I was ill.

GEDDES's work in India is not sufficiently known in this country, especially his monumental report on the town planning of Indore, which ranges over many subjects in sociology and social reform, the evolution of towns, sanitation, and University education, besides town planning and housing. I believe that the importance of Geddes's work in sociology will be increasingly recognised; and that his influence will grow, especially if the subject be taken up by others with similar training and experience in natural science.

H. STANLEY JEVONS.

THE TEACHER OF CIVICS.

THE word GENIUS is perhaps the most indefinable in the language, and the quality expressed by it is one of the most rare in the human spirit. It means far more than "an infinite capacity for taking pains": for many dull and unoriginal persons, quite worthy, have that capacity but possess no touch of genius. Geddes, though he had the capacity for taking pains, was never dull or unoriginal, and he also had that rarity and wonder of the soul to which the term genius could be applied.

WHATEVER aspect of knowledge or thought or action he considered was enlarged by being shown as a connected part of the whole of thought or activity, and was illumined by his searchlight into its inner meaning and use. Especially was this the case with Civics, which in his hands became

"Not harsh or crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute."

He made a statistical, merely administrative thing into a human reality, pulsing with aspirations and ideals.

ABOUT twenty years ago it fell to my lot to teach Civics to classes of adolescents and adults, and in my search for inspiration I came across some articles in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* by Professor Geddes. These wholly altered my conception of the subject, and were the source of all my subsequent efforts in connection with the possibilities in training for Citizenship. But his prophecy with regard to Civics has still to be fulfilled when he says:—

" . . . this latest and youngest branch of science, indeed as yet but a little-noticed bud upon the vast ever-spreading tree of knowledge, may before long be recognised as one of the most fruitful of all,"

and he raised a noble ideal of the aim of Civics teaching in suggesting that it was

"labouring towards that correlation of thought with action, of science with practice, of sociology with morals, which finds its clearest expression in its watchword and endeavour of Civic Survey for Civic Service."

CIVIC Survey meant for him a synthesis of environment, heritage and activity. Nothing was disconnected and nothing was alien.

A CHARACTERISTIC of his teaching was the care he took to express his meaning to any of his hearers however small in number or importance. I remember many personal instances—once at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh where I and my young brother met him by chance, and he gave up his afternoon to conducting us over the less-known parts of the city, discoursing the whole time on politics, personalities, theories and plans, as fully and interestingly as though he were addressing an audience of 500. Another time, over a cup of "watery tea" in an A.B.C. shop, he spent over an hour giving an exposition and drawing diagrams for his audience of one with as much trouble and vivacity as he would have given to a discourse to the Royal Society. In his letters also he would scatter ideas, show widening avenues of thought, and give encouragement with no stint, and probably little idea of the value of such exuberance. He had a kindly glance for genuineness, but his eye flashed with indignation at pretence or futility; and he could not curb his impatience of and scorn for mere bureaucracy and the administration that leads nowhere.

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THE marked individuality of his style with its forceful directness that was even indicated in his script made his writings recognisable anywhere. The mass of his material, for which he had roamed the world, enabled his idea of the synthesis of all subjects to be illustrated on every side. All things were connected: a chart of his shows correspondences between the Greek gods and goddesses and the men and women of to-day; he traces the peasant of old to the present day banker; and all his books in the "Making of the Future" series assert the continuance of civilisation and interpret its many meanings. To him all that is in the great world, swinging as a whole round the sun, had threads joining every part to every other.

BEHIND all that Geddes did there was a quickly-moving imagination, fed by his wide knowledge of all the arts and sciences and religions of the world. This gave him an illustrative power that made his lectures and writings startling in their applications, their illuminating references, and their unexpected connections. His listeners and readers had perforce to be well-versed in poetry and the learning of the ages to be competent to follow all his wanderings, and to appreciate all his implications. He must have left a vast amount of work in embryo—he once wrote of "turning over to you some of the civics ideas and materials I am now too old to work up." We contemplate with sorrow that one of the finest spirits of our time has left us, and hope that others may continue the enlightening and synthesising work that he carried on with such distinction.

E. M. WHITE.

AN ANTIDOTE TO INSULARITY.

IT has been my privilege on a number of occasions to hear Professor Geddes talk. One could never describe such an occasion as the giving of a lecture, an address or a speech—it was just talk, pouring forth from an amazing brain, touching upon all things in heaven and earth, darting from one subject to another, illuminating each with flashes of originality, with little-known facts gleaned from his wide experience of life, drawing inspiration from the most unexpected sources, from seemingly trivial details or occurrences, bewildering sometimes to one who found it difficult to keep pace with the swiftness of his mental process, but always leading the minds of his hearers to higher planes of thought, to the broadest possible outlook on the multitudinous problems with which his untiring mentality concerned itself.

I WAS specially attracted by that aspect of his teaching which is expressed in his chapter on "Travel and its lessons for citizenship" in *CITIES IN EVOLUTION*. Since that book was written there has been a remarkable development in foreign travel, but it is as true as ever that "we need preparation for travel; an education which will make our youth immune to its evils, alive to its advantages," and it is particularly desirable that we should all realise that, in travelling, it is not merely places that we should visit, but also people.

"It is good for John Bull, with his robust immunity to every science, and his one cherished metaphysical theory—that there is no such thing as theory, and no use for it if there is—to meet business people, city fathers, men in large affairs, who are yet open to social and speculative thought, who are boldly applying and generously advancing all the science on every head, and who are daily growing clearer headed, richer and more powerful in consequence."

WE are certainly growing less insular than we were. The remarkable reception given in this country to the Fifth International Congress of Local Authorities is evidence of this and would have delighted Sir Patrick had he lived to see it. If his teaching in this connection could be given greater publicity among local government electors, as well as among the councillors and officials, this might help to inspire in our local authorities those "spiritual elements" which are essential to any practical achievement on the higher planes of administration.

G. MONTAGU HARRIS.

THE BETTER BY HIS HAVING LIVED.

THE world of science is, happily, alive to-day with activity in the present and promise for the future, but there are probably few men living now or ever, who have touched life at so many points or sown so wide a harvest of ideas in the minds of their contemporaries as Patrick Geddes. Himself primarily a biologist, and lover of Life, he has died leaving not only a vast amount of accomplished work both scientific and social, but to us who are his friends and students the hope and belief that the full effects of his great energy are yet to be felt, and that all human progress far beyond our time shall be affected for the better by his having lived.

YET with his passing something is lost irrevocably, for his written work, inspiring as it may be, is yet lacking in the vital force that seemed to play about his spoken word. He was beyond all else a teacher, in intimate touch with the matter of his teaching. Some, catching the glow from his enthusiasm in lecture hall, study or garden, and finding that something had faded from their notes or memories in retrospect, have spoken of this as of a kind of fairy gold. But it was not that: rather was it that he, looking upon all living things with a deep and illuminating comprehension, spoke with an understanding which he could never fully impart to those who had not his vital contacts. He tried to make his students follow him into a true fairyland of science, which was yet no land of his imagining or ours, but a clear vision of things as they are, have been, and are becoming; of Life in Evolution.

It is impossible here, if ever, to attempt any outline of that full life of seventy-seven years. If considered only as an example of how much may be accomplished by one virile mind in a frail but active body, of how full a life may be when every hour is precious for what may be done in it, Patrick Geddes is an inspiration. There was something Caesar-like in the quality of his activity, in the driving force which made his milieu exhausting at times to those of lesser fibre who strove to keep pace with him. This was partly because, with his complete absence of pride in his own power and his belief in the high potentiality of all men and women, he would not admit that they *were* of lesser fibre! For himself and for others he held firmly to the faith that everyone is capable of more than they think they are, and that less than our best should never be given to any enterprise. He is not the first to bid us "Be perfect" and to "Seek first the Kingdom of the Ideal," but it is some key to the rare mentality of Geddes that he considered these commands to be perfectly practical and worthy of literal obedience in the everyday affairs of life; as also that to "Consider the lilies *how they grow*" ("And neither cut for an altar nor pressed for a herbarium").

I CHANCED to be with him once in Dundee when he received a telegram giving the future fate of Crosby Hall into his hands. He proposed to remove it from Bishopsgate to Chelsea, as was subsequently done. "How will you finance it?" I asked. He made some vague references to possible subscribers, and then added abruptly, "The practical man is the one who does things whether he can or not!" Crosby Hall stands to-day, a concrete witness to the practical power of his vision.

MY own first memory of him is one of the earliest and most vivid impressions of childhood. We walked along the sand dunes and sea-shore of the Solway. He pointed out one fascinating object after another—seaweeds, zoophytes, shells, an orange fungus glowing in his shading hands—objects, he suggested,

for a child's museum (which was commenced forthwith). This was my own familiar place, but made alive with interest for ever by his showing of it ; with interest and beauty. As we came home into the garden I kicked carelessly the aged and rotten shell of a turnip. "See what a beautiful pattern is left on the stalk where the leaves have been," he said. I looked, and saw the great purple leaf-scars, and said (but not aloud, for a child of seven is not very articulate), "Yes, it *is* beautiful, and if that is beautiful, then there is beauty everywhere." I question if he ever knew of the gift made then to his godchild. Probably not, for this reminiscence is only a little symbol of the way he gave, and illumined, and awakened, and passed on without heeding overmuch whether the seed scattered so widely took root or not.

His influence has been felt not only by biologists and nature students. How much the development of nature teaching in schools owes to his inspiration it will be difficult to estimate, but certainly the work done in his University Extension classes and in the Summer Meetings held in the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh (the first Vacation Meetings to be held in Europe) did much to stimulate and encourage its difficult early growth of fifty years ago. Among town planners, sociologists of all schools, architects, geographers, explorers and "geotects," artists and craftsmen ; among social workers whether in groups or as scattered individuals, and in all the arts and sciences which make up our complex life to-day ; in his own city, in Europe and America, in India and Jerusalem, will be found men and women acknowledging the debt they owe to his rare insight. For he saw life, not as many broken fragments to be studied each in its separate and cloistered cell, but as one great gesture, whether manifested in animal, plant or humanity, yet in the infinite variety of the interplay of organism with environment confronting us with all the "minor infinities" that the mind can contemplate or the specialist desire.

AND so he, who had considered well the growth of the lilies ; who had been the attentive student of Huxley, Schafer, Elisée Reclus, and many other eminent masters ; who had grasped and made his own the essential truths in the work of Le Play, Demolins and Auguste Comte ; who had, in fact, "taken all knowledge to be his province," focussed his clear intellect on human affairs and saw Sociology as the topmost branch of the biological sciences. So he has left on the one hand such concrete testimonies to his wise activity as reconditioned slum closes and tenements, University Halls of Residence, the Scots College at Montpellier with its reclaimed garrigue, and the great plan for the University of Jerusalem ; and on the other, a vision of the Earth Mother weaving on her loom no tangled threads, but an orderly pattern, described by him in a philosophy of life which, if we can attain to some grasp of it, may yet be ranked among the highest achievements of the mind of man.

M. M. BARKER.

A PERSONAL APPROACH.

Now that Geddes has gone from our midst his Thought seems, somehow, to take on a new vitality, inspiring many kinds of people to activity in his name, or else without his name, impelled towards putting his teaching into active life and practice. Some, the more serious students and friends, still feel that the enormous scope of his thinking and the diversity of his approaches needs yet further study before anything definite can take shape as a result of his work, and these people await the publication of his posthumous manuscripts before daring to give final form to what they perhaps dimly know to have been behind all he said and wrote and did. Another set of newer friends, on the other hand, feel that now is the time to utilise what they can glean of his meanings, for fear that his work may be forgotten if not at once laid hold of and put into some sort of political reform of an active nature. Personally I come between the two groups, because I think there is a danger in waiting too long, but at the same time I scent a greater danger in the way people are taking items from his works and labelling these and him with any political theory with which they happen to be in sympathy. In an old established professional journal he was recently called "Socialist" and there are various indications that, where he is not completely passed by, he is in danger of being as completely misrepresented. Therefore, if I had my way, I would use the space at my disposal for nothing more than an appeal to his friends to stand firm and find a way to establish a School for the study of his notebooks and MSS., in which men of distinguished mentality could work until they had elucidated, from the mass of writings he has left behind, the real essence of what all his work was for; and, after such study, and after the publication of all that he has left, then to formulate an active policy of reform. For I am not sure that he has not left the secret of his meanings in his unpublished Manuscript notes.

How can one sum him up now? Having published some thirty books and lectured all over the world, with various activities known to the readers of this REVIEW, talking ceaselessly to friends and (even) foes, yet he used to complain to me of his "Life long silence." He was fond of referring to himself as "one of the unemployed."

THERE is a mystery somewhere, a mystery which is exactly what makes it so difficult to sum him up. The more one tries to define Art the more she defies definition and escapes. Something of this is in the nature of Geddes—he escapes definition, just as Art does. This, I think, was felt by a writer in NATURE who, five years ago, said: "Geddes is a figure apart in modern science, his vision penetrating many minds. It is unfortunate that the scientific world can bestow no honour that would quite fit the case of Geddes, though its debt to him is seen in the manifold utilisation and development of his thought, not seldom used by workers who scarcely know his name";* in a way this was explained by a reviewer in the SCIENTIFIC WORKER, who wrote: "Specialised scientists probably look upon Geddes in the same way as his brethren must regard a monk who has left the cloister," but Geddes was not escaping from the cloister of science; far from it, he was trying to bring science back into the cloister on the one hand, while on the other hand he wanted to irrigate the world (to use a phrase of his own) with the best thought from that cloister.

* See PIONEERS OF SCIENCE (Routledge).

AND thus it is not difficult to see behind what someone said in a daily paper about him: "There is one word which sums him up—perhaps the most defiled word in the world—Politics," and, abrupt as that sounds, it needs little explanation, since if the thought of the science of the cloister is to irrigate the world it must take form in some sort of political movement, since it necessitates reform and there can be no finality to a reform unless it has the sanction of Parliament.

BUT Geddes himself never gave much clue as to the form such finality was to take. He was accused for being diffuse; but in reality perhaps he knew that when thought becomes crystallised into final form, it is getting encrusted and may soon have to give way to some newer stirring from a yet deeper subsoil? And so, despite his many actual achievements, yet it is as a stirrer of the soil of thought, as much as for his own deep and vigorous thinking, that the name of Geddes will live on. But, as he had no ready-made plan or cut and dried policy, it would be highly dangerous to encourage any body of people to make one (as some are now inclined to do) in his name; rather might one encourage people to watch the way things grow; for I remember how he left one revolutionary student alone in a room with the instructions to observe how bulbs grew, and stayed away so long that the student imagined he had been forgotten and left off looking at bulbs—but in so doing gave himself away, since Geddes afterwards told me that So and So could not stand the test of the severe novitiate demanded by nature.

HIS ways of teaching were often unexpected, as when, for example, he told me to make frames for some pictures, and on my protesting that I did not know how to frame pictures, replied "Of course you do." This is a trivial example of the way he brought out what was in one, unknown to oneself. "Live by doing" and "Learn by living" were his watchwords, and this way he had of expecting more of one than one thought one could do was later developed in a letter to me wherein he sketched an idea of the potentialities of humanity; referring to some book that we were discussing he suddenly wrote: "Instead of talking of any coming Superman—each potentially IS he and HERE, but unawakened; the very dreaming and stirring which at best we accomplish being but the stirring of a mind asleep or drugged. Yet realise that each mind has 9,000,000,000 brain cells, mostly asleep, yet in themselves like a locked up B.B.C., and a potential transmitting centre too. Daventry isn't in it beside what a brain should be!"

IN working with him, whether at Ghent or elsewhere, I found him often merciless—not realising one's limitations, he would strain one to breaking point—but on the other hand, there was never too much for him to do for a friend. His sense of friendship and his loyalty were so strong and also so gentle, that he seemed to desire gentleness and loyalty and friendliness to humanise the entire world; and in his sociology, if one really looks into it, one may find that this is the underlying impulse.

AN extraordinary thing about his mind was the way it went to extremes in conversation, even in lecturing, but in the end always regained its balance. He would make wide sweeps, generalisations so stretched out that one would say to oneself "he is exaggerating," but, before one had time to think much, he would return from that excursion to some exact detail, some simple fact,—and this return was often accompanied by a scintillating wit—and so resolve the whole expression into something practical and true; leaving the listener to feel as though his own mind had been turned inside out and every corner

of it swept clean, and with enough to think about to last for years to come ; unlike most critics of society, though he often left one mentally in tatters, he never left one without something to put in the place of what he had broken down ; and what he put in place was always more comprehensive, better worth thinking about, better worth an attempt towards working it out, than the vague ideology which he criticised, or the policies which he picked to pieces. He never claimed that what he said was " new " but what he actually did was to strike the very heart of anything that was true, whether in past history, or past teaching, in nature or in any fresh discoveries, and to so blend these essential atoms of truth together that he produced an almost magic vibration in the mind of any one who fell under his spell. He was, I think, in many respects a maker of careers. His was, however, not only an intensely critical mentality, but a deeply creative one too and as all that is really creative is also poetic, I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I say that he was, more than all else, a poet. Anyone who ever visited one of his gardens with him or worked with him amongst flowers, who ever went with him to a flower show or to a botanical garden, could not doubt that his whole scientific being was on fire with poetic fervour, that is—love of Creation, a love not far distinct from the old love of God.

I THINK he was not unconscious of this, for he once said to me that the scientist knew the white heat of ecstasy.

SEVERAL people have recently given some mystic meaning to his thought and life ; and while undoubtedly no one could know him and not feel this, yet there is a great danger in saying too much about it, for he himself was too strictly scientific to ever allow himself expression on anything beyond the realm of science ; when asked a question about mystical things he once said : " I do not know enough to profess the science of God . . . go and ask somebody who does." But, nevertheless, if in fact one could sum him up in a sentence, one could do worse than say simply that he was a man of religion, a high priest of mystical endeavour, striving to make old truths come true in the light of modern scientific knowledge, and to adapt modern civilisation to a synthetic outlook coming from an intense inward unity of spirit ; throwing aside, as he came across them, whatever his wisdom and intuitive vision knew to be false, either in old or in modern thought.

ONE is left with a sense of inability to do justice to his personality, at once so penetrating, so vivid, so true, so volcanic and so gentle, so unswerving in desire to serve, no matter what the cost to health or to wealth, a thought-stream which does not end where he left it.

AMELIA DEFRIES.

A SCOTTISH TRIBUTE.*

PATRICK GEDDES was the most seminal Scottish mind of the last fifty years. His vibrant intelligence shot forth ideas, projects, theories, as some plants eject their spores. He should have been kept like the queen bee in a hive, with swarms of worker-bees to put into practice the visions of his fertile brain. No Scottish professor for half a century has been so widely known among the *intelligentsia* of France, Germany, Italy, America, and Hindustan. Yet this great Scotsman held in Scotland no post higher than the chair of Botany in University College, Dundee. Nor had any Scottish University honoured itself by enrolling him among its honorary graduates. He died as he had lived, unhooded and ungowned, belittled in his last days by the knighthood that is available to any pushful politician or Provost.

FORTY years ago, multitudes of young men in Scotland and in England owed their souls to the teaching of Patrick Geddes. In those days of Darwinian determinism, Grant Allen's sad lines seemed incontrovertible—"A crowned Caprice is the god of this world, On his stony breast are his white wings furled." Even a noble soul like Huxley could see in life essentially "a gladiator's show." Geddes, pupil of Huxley, challenged the verdict in his books, in his lectures, in the flood of vivacious speech which leaped from him like a fountain. I recall the thrill which went through an audience, as Geddes traced the basal feature of all life to be the sacrifice of the mother for the offspring, and closed by saying with his usual fingering of the abundant locks and the phrase over the shoulder, "So life is not really a gladiator's show, it is rather—a vast mothers' meeting." Such biological teaching rallied young minds to faith in the rationality of the universe, in the possibility of progress, in the value of life, in the triumph of justice and truth, if men would but search widely, think deeply, and, above all, labour together for the common gain. No man was more brotherly than Geddes. When the University Court of Edinburgh gave me a grant to visit schools in France, Professor Laurie said to me: "Go and see Pat Geddes, he knows all about France." If I had been his youngest brother, he could not have been more generous with advice and introductions. He sponsored me to the Quartier Latin. He gave me an introduction to M. Compayré, then at Poitiers, whose *HISTOIRE DES DOCTRINES DE L'EDUCATION* was the only scholarly work of the kind until Sir John Adams wrote his *HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL THEORY*. He gave me a letter to Madame Kergomard, who showed me *LES ECOLES MATERNELLES*, which cared for the little ones of Paris before the name Nursery School was heard. Through Professor Geddes I came to know M. Pécaut, principal of the Training College at Fontenay-aux-Roses, a philosopher of the type of Malebranche, Cousin, Bergson; and I was visited by the Marquis de Vaneuil, whose carriage and pair made a great stir before my *hotel garni* in the Rue de l'Ecole de Medecine, in which Charlotte Corday murdered Marat. The Marquis and Geddes had become allies through a common devotion to the doctrines of Le Play, the sociologist who was Geddes's master. I had never even heard of Le Play, though I came to know full well in later years the work of Le Play House in London.

ACCORDING to Geddes's exposition of Le Play, the concept of race as physiologically determined is an error. Race is a culture-concept, the two chief factors of which are occupation and geographical conditions. Men's minds are moulded by climate and features of earth and air and sea and by their

*Reprinted by permission from the SCOTTISH EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL of 29th April, 1932.

breadwinning. "But," as Geddes would say, "you must make your geography a geosophy." He had a gift for "le mot juste." But he was sometimes in danger of being satisfied with the word, and would give a description as an explanation. Still more did he love a diagram, or rather an ideograph. Give him a piece of chalk, set him before a blackboard, and all the history of the world, all the knowledge of man, all the marvel of the future would be represented in symbols. That characteristic is shown in the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. You pass from its base, which represents primeval man with his curtailed outlook, up through successive storeys, symbolic of successive ages, and their gradually widening view, until you reach the summit. There the camera obscura reveals the world of to-day symbolised by Edinburgh throned between the mountains and the sea.

ALL things had a voice to the ear of Patrick Geddes; all their messages must be related to life, either in its Great Record of the Past or its Great Adventure of the Present. During a day at Culross under his guidance, that slumberer since the seventeenth century would awake, and its forgotten life be enacted again. Some recall him most vividly in the days of the University Summer Meeting, of which the University in its academic formalism took no cognisance. They will recall him when he was introducing M. Elisée Reclus, geographer and sharer in the Paris Commune, or M. Demolins, whose *À QUOI TIENT LA SUPÉRIORITÉ DES ANGLO-SAXONS* sounds ironical to-day, or Professor Rein from Jena, who found, as Rousseau did, all the method of a good education in Robinson Crusoe. Others may remember best the rambles, the picnics, the receptions which varied the lectures, when Geddes would explain why the theism of Mahomet could have been learned only on the plains of Arabia, or the relation between the pastoral conditions of Ireland and the tendency of its folk to be "sweet to gree," or the resemblance between the labours of the medieval astrologers and the work of the insurance experts of to-day, or the absolute necessity to "orientate one's self" on reaching any strange place. So he poured forth vivacious, whimsical, wide-ranging, deep-searching talk "de omne re scibile et de quibusdam aliis."

I THOUGHT him at his best as a lecturer when he was addressing the members of the Nature Study Association in London and would relate all the range of education to a flower in the crannied wall. So also when he spoke to my teachers in Croydon on the interrelations of geography and history. He illustrated his thesis by reference to the Thames, with its English capital city, London, and its sacred place of coronation, Westminster, paralleled by the Tay with its Scottish capital, Perth, and its sacred place of coronation, Scone. As one listener said, Geddes at his best made one think of the lines in *KUBLA KHAN*: "For he on honey-dew hath fed And drunk the milk of Paradise."

HE could be dull and wordy at times when the wheels seemed to have come off the chariots so that they drave heavily. Once, when staying with me at Stirling, he bored a great audience with irrelevancies and inconsequences, and even confused Stirling Bridge with Lauder Bridge. Yet the same night five men at a fireside were entranced by his talk about his experiences in Cyprus. Its progress depended, to his judgment, not on electoral reform, but on having a supply of new seeds and on knowing how Moses struck the rock. "The last fresh seeds were taken there by the Crusaders, and no grafts have been made on their fruit trees since." "They could have a water supply if they would clear the channels which have been choked by the waters flowing over calcareous soils."

GEDDES's best monument in Edinburgh is the pile of buildings which his enthusiasm raised around the Goose-Pie home of Allan Ramsay. Here is his reasoning for that work. "Scottish Universities give their students lectures, and take no concern with them beyond the classroom. That system may invigorate some but it has destroyed many and restricted most, and it is false to the final purpose of education, the fitting of man for a social activity." "English Universities err at the opposite extreme: they treat young men as schoolboys whose exits and entrances are regulated, who move to a common code, who have no scope for learning self-government, and who are moulded to a pattern of 'what is done.'" "In University Hall students will live a common life which they themselves will manage. They will be drawn from all the faculties, medicals, arts men, engineers, budding ministers. Artists, advocates, schoolmasters, ministers, &c., &c., will dwell in the flats beside the students' hostel. Town and gown will give and take from each other width and comprehension. All will be affected by the historic site. And all will give time and thought to befriending and encouraging the less fortunate who dwell in adjacent closes." Since Amphion raised the walls of Thebes by his music, there has been nothing like the raising of University Hall by the eloquence of Patrick Geddes. University hostels are a commonplace nowadays. All can grow the flower now for all have got the seed. But how great was the loss to the University of Edinburgh that it did not make itself partner in the Geddesian project. When Cecil Rhodes was contemplating his Foundation for the Rhodes Scholarships, he found that eight out of every dozen men in South Africa were graduates of the University of Edinburgh. He therefore included Edinburgh with Oxford and Cambridge as universities at which the scholarships might be held. Learning later that there was no system of "internal residence" at Edinburgh, he withdrew the name of that University from the deed of foundation.

ONLY those who knew University Hall in its early days will agree that "bliss was it in those days to be alive." It was an adventure to climb the newel stair, where a rope took the place of a handrail, where each door of a flat bore the old Scots "risp," so that one "tired at the pin" for entrance, as in the ballads. So one came to the ultimate flat, whence northern windows saw a ship tacking for The May, the Forth and its isles, or at night the beckoning light from Inchkeith or Fidra; while the southern casement looked sheer down to where Lady Glammis was burned and out past the bulk of the Castle, with the window of the room in which Mary Stewart had her travail, to the green slopes of Caerketton and far Carnethy, flecked with the sheep which Stevenson's John Todd was herding. "The piper that played before Moses" welcomed you on entrance, and the Seasons were radiant on the inner walls. "You won't mind sitting on the floor, we're going to get more chairs when we have some more money." Thus does the charming voice of Mrs. Geddes come to me over the years. Fiona MacLeod was expected that evening, an author then in the bright halo of novelty and mystery, though a few were clever enough to solve the enigma. J. Arthur Thomson, whom some have described as Geddes's best achievement, was there, agreeable but taciturn, accumulating thereby the store of cadences, charming phrases, and deft allusions with which to delight his hearers and readers in the future. I was asked by Mrs. Geddes to try to get him to talk more. What I remember most vividly is that we broke one of the fruit-plates between us.

UNIVERSITY Hall of course included more than Ramsay Garden. I was always glad to be a guest of the students who harboured in Riddle's Court, in the

house of Baillie Macmorran, whom a seventeenth century High School boy pistolled when the magistrates tried to put down a "barring-out." The Baillie's saloon was a handsome room, and its panelled plaster ceiling bore the cipher of King James VI. and I. and the lion sejant which was his crest.

NATURALLY there were features of the life at University Hall that offered scope for criticism. A rather satirical picture of its life and of Geddes himself appears in *THE CRUCIFORM MARK*, a novel which is true to the Edinburgh of the time, though spoiled, as so many books are to-day, by an irrelevant dabbling in the occult. The author was a Cornishman attracted to Edinburgh by Geddes. It was always part of his philosophy to bring together all nations so that the widest diversities might influence each other or at least comprehend each other. There was a time when "Synthesis" was the magic word with Geddes. According to him, the cardinal evil of the nineteenth century was its individualism, personal and national, and the canker of its science and education was its specialism, in which one subject regarded not another, and ignored its relation to life. Geddes's gospel was all that studies should be interrelated and that all should converge towards securing a fuller, higher, corporate life. To vary the *Hudibras* line "Geddes could not ope his mouth but out there flew a hope." He never despaired of the republic. Many in Edinburgh will recall the pageant which he directed. It was afterwards shown in London, he himself taking the part of Erasmus, if my memory serves me. It closed impressively on the great stairway of the Imperial Institute with a figure from an aeroplane foretelling the happiness of the years to come. How we all cheered! Within a year, the aeroplanes were whirring over Verdun. Even the War could not discourage Geddes, though it took from him his son Alastair, a youth of rare promise, and though the German cruiser, the *Emden*, sank the vessel which was taking out for exhibition in India his treasured collection from the Town Planning Exhibition in London.

PEOPLE who were not attracted by Geddes's sociological theories admitted the practical value of his work for town planning. He told me that his mind turned to town planning because he had to live in Dundee, "a town with the finest site in Scotland, spoiled by the absence of a plan." He planned many wonderful possibilities for Edinburgh. In one of his books a photograph of the rear gardens of Charlotte Square, separated by walls into ugly strips, is juxtaposed to a photograph of the same area as a garden in common for all the indwellers. He showed me, in the London Exhibition, a plan for the rebuilding of College Street and Lothian Street as a series of students' hostels, thus connecting the College of King James with the School of Medicine. The picture rises before me every time I see the sordid reality. He had a project also for a terrace in front of the Assembly Hall, with a decorative stairway, such as one sees in Florence or Ferrara, to take the place of the brae that climbs to Ramsay Garden. There was talk at the time of a Carlyle Memorial in Edinburgh, and Geddes suggested that the monument should be placed on the terrace. I said to him: "You are not really much of an admirer of Carlyle." "No," he replied, "but I like bric-a-brac." That was true, and he loved colour. When he interested people in his project of a Co-operative Country House, where one would be assured for week-ends or holidays of good accommodation and a cultured *milieu*, he bought a charming house on the North Esk at Kevock, and at once set to having tiled roofs, balconies, and dormer windows put in.

COULD any but Patrick Geddes have moved Crosby Hall, the medieval mansion in Bishopsgate, London, in which Richard III. had dwelt, to

Chelsea, that it might be the Common Room of a block of students' hostels beside Sir Thomas More's garden. He had in truth the faith that moves mountains.

THERE was something of the Scottish wandering scholar of the Middle Ages in Geddes. He was eager to purchase the Scots College in Paris to make it again the home of Scots who would share the cosmopolitan life of the Sorbonne as in the days of Abelard. No one could be more ardently a Scot, yet no one was ever less particularistic or Chauvinistic. "I wish to undo that evil result of the Reformation, the breaking of the intellectual unity of Europe," he once said to me. Yet he had only amazement and a quiet smile at people like Mr. Hilaire Belloc and Mr. Chesterton, who imagine the vain thing of a restored medievalism. He did not much use the patios of the professional philosopher, but humanism, pragmatism, holism might claim him as their adherent.

THERE is no space to write of his books and pamphlets, but his effort as a publisher merits note. I have heard of a Scots Renaissance at least twenty times in the last forty years, and have heard many voices say "Now here! now there." But the roseate hues of early dawn, how swift they fade away! The nearest to a real Renaissance was when "Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh" became publishers. They issued *THE NEW EVERGREEN: A NORTHERN SEASONAL*, from the very spot where Allan Ramsay had sent out *THE EVERGREEN*, which began the revival of Scots verse which gave Scotland Robert Fergusson and all that came after. Their publications, *THE NEW EVERGREEN*, *LYRA CELTICA*, the writings of Fiona Macleod, *THE INTERPRETER*, were different from normal books in format, in typography, in binding, in illustration, in contents. No wonder one dreamed of an Edinburgh again recognised as the Modern Athens. The chief practical result of the enterprise was to send many Geddesians to study the art and legends of Gaelic and its cognate tongues, or to interest themselves in Provençal, so wonderfully revived by the poems of Mistral, or to practice rondeaus, triolets, villanelles, and discover Villon and Charles d'Orleans, whose rhythms had been the models of many a Scots makar for whom Dunbar lamented. Perhaps, after all, such is the true Renaissance, not a counterfeit of the past, but a widened present.

GEDDES's last project was in harmony with all his schemes, and yet was true to "le dernier cri" of to-day. He had come to see that modern conditions make even a united Europe insufficient. He had no patience with the ideal of an Empire, regardless of all outwith its bounds, gazing, like Narcissus, in admiration of its own perfections. He dreamed of World-States like Mr. Wells. But Mr. Wells's conception of a World-State is Americo-European. It has efficiency as its chief aim. An enemy might call it Phillistine. Geddes, though he looked west, did not forget to look east. He did not think that the differing civilisations and philosophies of China and Hindustan had been through the centuries only a murmur of gnats. So he maintained that the World-State must take account of the views of Orientals, who should be allowed to put their opinions, their hopes, their aims, in the pool. Only when studying together and living together for study do men reveal themselves fully or come to know each other intimately. What University might be the fit focus for such co-operation and such endeavours? Montpellier, the only European University which looks to the Mediterranean, that linkage of East and West. Montpellier, whose renowned medieval school was founded by Arab physicians. Montpellier, which had

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included as students Petrarch, Rabelais, De Candolle, De Jussieu, and even Clarendon and Locke. Geddes dreamed that the beam that shines from Montpellier hill Shall lighten every land. In every effort to gain "light, more light," Geddes felt Scotland must share. So he established at Montpellier the Collège des Ecossais where Scots might mingle with every race known under heaven, so would they aid the coming of the world of which Patrick Geddes dreamed.

Genesis XXXVII.—19: "And they said one to another 'Behold this dreamer cometh.'"

Genesis XLI.—41: "And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, 'See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.'"

STEWART A. ROBERTSON.

